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ABSTRACT

This report is addressed to decision makers in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention and to those individuals who have an active concern for juvenile delinquency prevention programs. In addition, the report specifies those program areas which show promise for providing some degree of success and those areas which have clearly failed to make any progress toward the goal of prevention. The report also contains broad policy recommendations with respect to juvenile delinquency prevention programming, specific recommendations concerning research in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention, and recommendations calling for the greater use of program evaluation in conjunction with delinquency prevention programs. (Author)

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Community Treatment • Indigenous Nonprofessionals*

ED108058

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Programs

An Evaluation of Policy Related Research
on the Effectiveness of Prevention Programs

*Report on the Findings of an
Evaluation of the Literature*

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Foreword

This evaluation of policy-related research on the effectiveness of juvenile delinquency prevention programs is one in a series of 20 projects for the Evaluation of Policy Related Research in the Field of Human Resources, funded by the Division of Social Systems and Human Resources in the Research Applied to National Needs (RANN) program of the National Science Foundation.

A large body of policy related research on human resources has been created over the last quarter century. However, its usefulness to decision makers has been limited because it has not been evaluated comprehensively with respect to technical quality, usefulness to policy makers, and potential for codification and wider diffusion. In addition, this research has been hard to locate and not easily accessible. Therefore, systematic and rigorous evaluations of this research are required to provide syntheses of evaluated information for use by public agencies at all levels of government and to aid in the planning and definition of research programs.

Recognizing these needs, the Division of Social Systems and Human Resources issued a Program Solicitation in January 1973 for proposals to evaluate policy related research in 21 categories in the field of human resources. This competition resulted in 20 awards in June 1973. Each of these projects was to: 1) Evaluate the internal validity of each study by determining whether the research used appropriate methods and data to deal with the questions asked; 2) Evaluate the external validity of the research by determining whether the results were credible in the light of other valid policy related research; 3) Evaluate the policy utility of specific studies or sets of studies bearing on given policy instruments; and 4) Provide decision makers, including research funders, with an assessed research base for alternative policy actions in a format readily interpretable and useable by decision makers. The report of each project was to include an analysis of the validity and utility of research in the field selected, a synthesis of the evidence, and a discussion of what, if any, additional research is required.

The following list of the 20 awards shows the research area evaluated, the organization to which the award was made, and the principal investigator.

1. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on New Expanded Roles of Health Workers—Yale University, School of Medicine, New Haven, Connecticut, 06520; Eva Cohen
2. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on the Effectiveness of Alternative Allocation of Health Care Manpower—Interstudy, 123 East Grant Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55403; Aaron Lowin
3. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effects of Health Care Regulation—Policy Center, Inc., Suite 500, 789 Sherman, Denver, Colorado, 80203; Patrick O'Donoghue
4. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Trade-Offs Between Preventive and Primary Health Care—Boston University Medical Center, Boston University School of Medicine, Boston, Massachusetts, 02214; Paul Gertman
5. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effectiveness of Alternative Programs for the Handicapped—Rutgers University, 165 College Avenue, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 08901; Monroe Berkowitz
6. An evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effects of Alternative Health Care Reimbursement Systems—University of Southern California, Department of Economics, Los Angeles, California, 90007; Donald E. Yett
7. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Alternative Public and Private Programs for Mid-Life Redirection of Careers—Rand Corporation, 1700 Main Street, Santa Monica, California, 90406; Anthony H. Pascal
8. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Relations Between Industrial Organization, Job Satisfaction, and Productivity—Brandeis University, Florence G. Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Waltham, Massachusetts, 02154; Michael J. Brower
9. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Relations Between Industrial Organization, Job Satisfaction, and Productivity—New York University, Department of Psychology, New York, New York, 10003; Raymond A. Katzell
10. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Productivity, Industrial Organization, and Job Satisfaction—Case Western Reserve University, School of Management, Cleveland, Ohio, 44106; Suresh Srivastva
11. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effectiveness of Alternative Methods of Reducing Occupational Illness and Accidents—Westinghouse Behavioral Safety Center, Box 948, American City Building, Columbia, Maryland, 21044; Michael Pfeifer
12. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on the Impact of Unionization on Public Institutions—Contract Research Corporation, 25 Flanders Road, Belmont, Massachusetts; Ralph Jones
13. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Projection of Manpower Requirements—Ohio State University, Center for Human Resources Research, Columbus, Ohio, 43210; S. C. Kelley
14. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effectiveness of Alternative Pre-Trial Intervention Programs—ABT Associates, Inc., 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138; Joan Mullen
15. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on the Effectiveness of Pre-

Trial Release Programs—National Center for State Courts, 1660 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado, 80203; Barry Mahoney

16. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effectiveness of Volunteer Programs in the Area of Courts and Corrections—University of Illinois, Department of Political Science, Chicago Circle, Box 4348, Chicago, Illinois, 60680; Thomas J. Cook
17. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Effectiveness of Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Programs—George Peabody College for Teachers, Department of Psychology, Nashville, Tennessee, 37203; Michael C. Dixon
18. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Exercise of Discretion by Law Enforcement Officials—College of William and Mary, Metropolitan Building, 147 Granby Street, Norfolk, Virginia, 23510. W. Anthony Fitch
19. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Exercise of Police Discretion—National Council of Crime and Delinquency Research Center, 609 2nd Street, Davis, California, 95616; M. G. Neithercutt
20. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Post Secondary Education for the Disadvantaged—Mercy College of Detroit, Department of Sociology, Detroit, Michigan, 48219; Mary Janet Mulka

A complementary series of awards were made by the Division of Social Systems and Human Resources to projects for the Evaluation of Policy Related Research in the Field of Municipal Systems, Operations, and Services. For the convenience of the reader, a list of these awards appears below:

1. Fire Protection—Georgia Institute of Technology, Department of Industrial and Systems Engineering, Atlanta, Georgia, 30332; D. E. Fyffe
2. Fire Protection—New York Rand Institute, 545 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, 10022; Arthur J. Swersey
3. Emergency Medical Services—University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, Knoxville, Tennessee, 37916; Hyrum Plaas
4. Municipal Housing Services—Cogen Holt and Associates, 956 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut, 06510; Harry Wexler
5. Formalized Pre-Trial Diversion Programs in Municipal and Metropolitan Courts—American Bar Association, 1705 DeSales Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036; Roberta-Rovner-Piecznik
6. Parks and Recreation—National Recreation and Park Association, 1601 North Kent Street, Arlington, Virginia, 22209; The Urban Institute, 2100 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20037; Peter J. Verhoven
7. Police Protection—Mathematica, Inc., 4905 Del Ray Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland, 20014; Saul I. Gass
8. Solid Waste Management—Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Civil Engineering, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02139; David Marks
9. Citizen Participation Strategies—The Rand Corporation, 2100 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20037; Robert Yin
10. Citizen Participation: Municipal Subsystems—The University of Michigan, Program in Health Planning, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48104; Joseph L. Falkson

11. Economic Development—Ernst & Ernst, 1225 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036; Lawrence H. Revzan
12. Goal of Economic Development—University of Texas at Austin, Center for Economic Development, Department of Economics, Austin, Texas, 78712; Niles M. Hansen
13. Franchising and Regulation—University of South Dakota, Department of Economics, Vermillion, South Dakota, 57069. C. A. Kent
14. Municipal Information Systems—University of California, Public Policy Research Organization, Irvine, California, 92664; Kenneth L. Kraemer
15. Municipal Growth Guidance Systems—University of Minnesota, School of Public Affairs, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55455; Michael E. Gleeson
16. Land Use Controls—University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 27514; Edward M. Bergman
17. Land Use Controls—The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036; Herbert M. Franklin
18. Municipal Management Methods and Budgetary Processes—The Urban Institute, 2100 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 20037; Wayne A. Kimmel
19. Personnel Systems—Georgetown University, Public Service Laboratory, Washington, D. C., 20037; Selma Mushkin

Copies of the research evaluation reports for both Municipal Systems and Human Resources may be obtained directly from the principal investigator or from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 5285 Port Royal, Springfield, Virginia, 22151 (Telephone: 703/321-8517).

This research evaluation by Michael C. Dixon, Ph.D., of George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee on the effectiveness of juvenile delinquency prevention programs was prepared with the support of the National Science Foundation. The opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations appearing in the report are solely those of the authors.

It is a policy of the Division of Social Systems and Human Resources to assess the relevance, utility, and quality of the projects it supports. Should any readers of this report have comments in these or other regards, we would be particularly grateful to receive them as they become essential tools in the planning of future programs.

LYNN P. DOLINS
Program Manager
 Division of Social Systems
 and Human Resources

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Particular thanks go to J. R. Newbrough, Coordinator, Center for Community Studies, John F. Kennedy Center for Research on Education and Human Development, George Peabody College; H. Floyd Dennis, Director, Institute on Youth and Social Development, John F. Kennedy Center for Research on Education and Human Development, George Peabody College; Robert A. Horton, Fiscal Advisor to the Mayor, Metropolitan Government, Nashville, Tennessee; Edward B. Sterling, Director, Metropolitan Administration of Justice and Planning Agency, Nashville; Dr. Harwin L. Voss, Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky; Dr. C. Thomas Cruthirds, Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Tennessee, Nashville; and Dr. L. Alex Swan, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Fisk University, Nashville.

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lidity section and wrote the methodological section of the final report, as well as contributing to the writing of two programmatic recommendations. Ms. Kayzakian contributed to the introduction, the evaluation recommendations, and helped in the writing of two recommendations. Mr. Navidi contributed to the section on the overview of delinquency, was principal author of the section on theoretical issues, and wrote two of the recommendations. In addition, Diane Sandler and Laura Fraser reviewed and evaluated part of the literature. Mrs. Betty Davies prepared many of the abstracts used in this report.

Dr. William Wright is responsible for much of the development of the rating manual and authored the section of the report concerned with findings from empirical studies.

Appreciation also goes to Peabody College's Office of Educational Services for the assistance rendered to the publication and dissemination of this report, and particularly for the editing work of Norman Moore.

Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the National Science Foundation for its support of this work. The opinions expressed herein are the authors and should not be attributed to the National Science Foundation or its representatives. The authors accept responsibility for whatever errors of fact may have inadvertently crept into this report.

M.C.D.

W.E.W.

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1 Introduction

In response to a National Science Foundation (Research Applied to National Needs) program announcement, the Institute on Youth and Social Development, a component of the John F. Kennedy Center at George Peabody College, submitted a proposal for a one-year project designed to review, evaluate, and synthesize the literature concerning juvenile delinquency prevention programming. The grant award included the specification that the juvenile delinquency prevention literature be evaluated with respect to the internal validity, external validity, and policy utility of each project being reported.

Purpose of the Report

This report is addressed to decision makers in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention and to those individuals who have an active concern for juvenile delinquency prevention programs, whether they be ministers, volunteer workers, policemen, probation officers, members of city councils, mayors, or members of a professional group such as educators, welfare workers, or mental health care providers. Its purpose is to give an overview of the state of the literature on juvenile delinquency prevention programs. In addition, the report specifies those program areas which show promise for providing some degree of success and those areas which have clearly failed to make any progress toward the goal of prevention. The report also contains broad policy recommendations with respect to juvenile delinquency prevention programming, specific recommendations concerning research in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention, and recommendations calling for the greater use of program evaluation in conjunction with delinquency prevention programs.

Focus of the Report

Due to the limited time frame of the project and the mass of reports which could reasonably be construed as a part of the juvenile delinquency literature, some restraints had to be placed on what the project could reasonably survey. Four major con-

straints were placed on the literature search procedure. One was the exclusion of all prevention or treatment activities which removed youth from their home communities. Another was the exclusion of institutional post-release (reintegration) programs. Third, the review only included literature since 1965, except for a few well known studies published prior to this time. Finally, our search was limited to those reports which in their abstract included the words "delinquency prevention" or the equivalent. Therefore, many projects which may be important for juvenile delinquency prevention or which might have implications for juvenile delinquency prevention were not reviewed. In particular, we did not review drug related delinquency prevention programs, truancy and many other school related programs, and job training or vocational rehabilitation programs because reports of these programs generally do not contain data concerning juvenile delinquency prevention. We attempted to include any program which had as its express goal the preventing or diverting of youth from delinquency, or reducing the rates of delinquency. Even with these limitations, well over 6,000 abstracts were reviewed and from these over 350 publications and reports were acquired.

Problems of Research

There is a relative paucity of research or evaluative information available in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention. Evaluation information such as we were seeking is frequently never recorded. When such information is recorded, it is often available only as a part of a project's log, weekly summary reports, or the like. Project reports which do contain detailed information about the project operation are infrequently published and, when published, such reports are often found in governmental archives which are difficult to obtain.

The conceptual clarity of the field poses additional problems having to do with the meaning of key terms such as delinquency and prevention. According to one definition, delinquency only exists when there is an official response from a controlling agent. A second definition makes delinquency equivalent to deviance or some violation of social norms. The amount, range, and type of delinquency varies widely depending on which definition is used. The distinction between prevention and treatment and the meaning of each is equally unclear. One definition labels prevention as "a measure taken before a criminal or delinquent act," and

treatment as "a measure taken after such an act has been committed" (4).¹ According to this definition, the ~~same~~ activity may be labeled as prevention or treatment depending on when the activity takes place. Prevention can also be taken to mean: (a) the sum of all activities that contribute to the development of children; (b) any attempt to deal with particular conditions that are believed to contribute to delinquency; or (c) any specific service (labeled as preventive) which is provided to particular individuals or groups, or some combination of the above. Treatment can range from special programs for designated areas or groups to specific services provided individual children.

The distinction between delinquency and prevention is somewhat artificial and often is a function of an author's preference for a particular term, rather than a function of some real and significant difference in meaning between the two terms.

Overview of Delinquency

Delinquency appears to be a nearly universal phenomenon which manifests itself in the same manner in nearly all industrialized nations (2). Various researchers in this country have demonstrated through the use of self report techniques that delinquency is widespread and cuts across social class and ethnic lines (3, 8). In behavioral terms, delinquency is not characteristic of a few but rather appears to be behavior which is characteristic of almost all youth in our society. People are not either delinquent or nondelinquent, but rather are more or less delinquent in the sense that they exhibit more or less delinquent behaviors (7, 1).

Causally, delinquency has been linked to everything from inflation and hard times to a low tolerance for frustration. Likewise, the kinds of programs devised to reduce or prevent delinquency are extremely varied and range from providing mini-bikes for delinquents and potential delinquents to individual psychotherapy.

There are basically two types of approaches to delinquency prevention. One is the systematic exploration of treatment alternatives from a theoretical perspective. The other is the exploration by trial and error of a large variety of ideas to see, in effect, what works. There seems to be a need for both approaches. In this regard, local juvenile delinquency prevention

¹ Numbers in parentheses correspond to numbered references at the end of each major section of this report.

program planners should be encouraged to experiment with programs which seem suited to the needs of the youth in their particular setting, so long as these programs are carefully thought out and evaluated. Such evaluation should be done from the perspective of seeking a solution to a problem, not from the perspective of satisfying a program requirement. This distinction, although seemingly small, is nonetheless critical. We hasten to add that there are certain classes of prevention and treatment which have been explored and which thus far have not shown evidence of having been effective, namely: recreational programs, guided group interaction, social casework, detached worker/gang worker projects. The evidence at this point indicates that such methods should be discarded. Likewise, evidence is beginning to accumulate which suggests that community treatment, the use of volunteers, diversion programs in general (including Youth Service Bureaus), and special school projects hold some promise of success. In general, these programmatic efforts seem worth further exploration and should be thoroughly evaluated in order to test their promise.

In general, we can say with confidence that there is not now nor will there be in the foreseeable future either one general solution to delinquency or a multiple number of strategies which will either prevent or control all delinquency. One often has the impression that many of those most concerned with delinquency yet believe that an answer to this problem lies "just around the corner." Some deviancy, however, seems to be an inevitable price which our society must pay for freedom from undue social restraint, for allowing youth a relatively long period for preparation for adult society, and for our material affluence (5).

In terms of federal and state policy, delinquency should be regarded as consisting for the most part of problems of troubled youth which arise out of the process of socialization. This view allows one to examine delinquency from a problem-solving perspective rather than a moral or medical perspective, which views delinquent youth as being in need of reform, punishment, or treatment. A problem-solving perspective allows one to look for strategies which allow problems to be viewed in their ecological setting and to seek solutions which flow from these same settings. If courts and treatment facilities are overburdened with minor offense cases, a change in statutes suggests itself as a means of reducing the input to the court system. If youth present a variety of offense types for which no one program seems adequate, expanding the range of treatment alternatives

via community treatment programs presents an 'apparent alternative to institutionalization. If youth lack proper socialization experiences and adequate role models, using volunteers may represent a reasonable solution.

Problems of Research Evaluation

Research reports and the evaluation they contain are quite varied. It is difficult, therefore, to evaluate these various types of reports with one methodology. Some reports contain little or no data which allow for ready evaluation of project effects. In those reports which do contain relatively complete accounts of program results, it is often difficult to tell if the program added significantly to services already available or if the program duplicated services already present. Likewise, it is often impossible to judge whether the project engaged in a sort of "creaming" effect whereby those least in need of services (and, therefore, those most likely to show the least delinquency) received services, and those most in need of services did not. Intensity and/or quality of service is also difficult to judge. Do all subjects receive equally intense treatment? Do programs differ significantly in quality of treatment? These questions are seldom answered.

One obvious problem in the field of juvenile delinquency prevention is the relatively low funding level. A very small percentage of the funds spent on correction, law enforcement, or criminal justice involves delinquency prevention or reduction. An even lower percentage of funds is spent on the evaluation of prevention activities (9, 6). An urgent need exists for more and better evaluation and for more and better research in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention. An equally strong need exists for systematic and basic research to try to determine the antecedent conditions of delinquency and the conditions which foster the healthy development of socialized, fully functioning adults. We need conditions which will foster the development of long range research, such as investigating the development of happy, healthy, well-integrated families and their children. Such projects require relatively large amounts of time, money, and personnel.

This report outlines the evidence from nine broad categories of treatment strategies: individual and group counseling, juvenile court projects, programs employing volunteers and indigent nonprofessionals, social casework, street-corner workers,

education and vocational programs, at the same time, service bureaus, community treatment centers, and miscellaneous category. In addition, the report contains recommendations in eight program areas: (1) treatment of children and youth; (2) juvenile delinquency; (3) differential treatment; (4) programs for girls; (5) treatment and decriminalization; (6) treatment of alcoholics; (7) some potential for systematic research; and (8) treatment of the mentally ill.

We are optimistic that the study will lead to some and, perhaps in some measure, to the development of programs for investing the money and effort in the most promising possible solutions. Later in this report we will mention a number of studies which we believe are necessary for this kind of careful work which might be done in the future and become more than a vague hope for the future.

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2 The Method of Evaluating Research Reports

For the purposes of this study, a survey was made of the published literature from 1965 to present² which described any services to youth and/or the community for the expressed goal of preventing or diverting youth from delinquency, and which did not remove youth from their home community.

The project staff reviewed approximately 6600 pertinent abstracts, which were either purchased from computer-based literature banks or were available from the Nashville Joint University Libraries. In addition, the project staff solicited research reports from more than 200 municipal, state, federal, and private agencies or research institutes. (See Appendix for complete list of sources surveyed.)

Once an abstract or an original report was obtained, it was read and the following questions were asked: Does it indicate that the report contains research evaluation data on a juvenile delinquency project? Does it indicate that the article reviews or discusses prevention efforts or programs, or describes a prevention project? Does it indicate that the article refers to policies and problems related to programming (funding, organization, evaluation, etc.) of juvenile delinquency prevention efforts? If any of the questions were answered "yes," efforts were made to obtain the original report through available library facilities or through contacting the authors.

Each report obtained was classified into one of four mutually exclusive categories. Three categories were for (a) data-based reports containing explicit data as to the subjects, treatment, resources, funding, and the like; (b) reports which were not data based but contained descriptions of programs or prevention efforts including reviews of programs or proposals for programs; and (c) reports focusing on theoretical issues, problems, policies, and other general issues. The fourth was a catch-all "other" category for reports which were data based but did not deal with delinquency prevention or reduction, or

²Given that Burns and Stern (2) and Lemert (4) found few significant delinquency prevention studies and that Berleman and Steinburn (1), in reviewing studies from 1937, found only five studies with research evaluations, none of which reported significant treatment effects, it was felt that the emphasis should be on research reports from 1965 to present and on existing reviews of previous evaluations.

which were reports of plans, broad programmatic issues, and any other type report not included in the preceding three categories.

Internal validity is the first step in the evaluation of any research literature. The basic question to be answered in internal validity is, "Does the research design and other procedures meet standard research practices such that the methods and design used allow for the adequate testing of the hypothesis(es) or prediction(s)?" Internal validity questions were designed to assess the relative strength of the research methodology. To be interpretable, a study must, at a minimum, possess the basic qualification of good experimental design, including proper sampling, reliable measurement, appropriate statistical procedures, and adequate control of extraneous variables.

For the purposes of this project external validity was defined as the extent of representativeness or generalizability of an experiment. External validity assessment consisted of classifying reports according to sample characteristics, such as age, sex, race, and to definitions of delinquency, prevention, and treatment, including who was the labeling agent and the intervention setting. We were interested in recording the theoretical stance, if any, which was utilized and the point in the "criminal career" at which the program was aimed—that is, pre-adjudication, unofficial handling, or post-adjudication, or some combination of these. We were also interested in whether or not there was any indication of the amount of treatment or prevention and whether or not the setting could be classified as appropriate for metropolitan areas, urban-suburban areas, or rural areas.

Policy utility is closely associated with external validity. Policy utility questions in the manual were generated from discussions with metropolitan and state government officials who were knowledgeable about prevention programs. In our scheme policy utility has to do with questions of efficiency, effectiveness, feasibility, practicality, and equity.

Policy utility questions concerned funding, cost effectiveness, and comparison with institutionalized programs. We were interested not only in who funded the program, but for how much, for how long, and whether or not the project continued after the initial funding period was over. We were also interested in who was responsible for the actual operation of the program and what resources were utilized by the project. We specifically asked whether or not staff requirements, cost fig-

ures, and public response to the program were reported. These were all specific questions which local, state, and national policy makers in juvenile delinquency had indicated they were interested in knowing about.

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3 Results: Findings from Empirical Studies

Evaluation of Delinquency Programs

Past reviews have indicated that the amount of evaluation in delinquency programs has been very limited. In 1954 the Special Juvenile Delinquency Project of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare noted a contrast between the amount of money being spent on programs to combat delinquency and the lack of expenditures for collecting data as to program achievements. The Bureau called this contrast "shocking" (27). Some 20 years later, the U. S. Interdepartmental Council to Coordinate all Federal Juvenile Delinquency Programs (23) noted that the federal government alone spent 11.5 billion dollars in fiscal year 1970 for juvenile delinquency and related youth development programs. Fifty-seven percent of these programs had no evaluation at all. Of those programs with evaluation, only 18% included descriptive or statistical assessments (The others contained fiscal, progress, and monitor's reports.) Of those reports containing empirical data (or approximately 8% of the total), few were considered to be methodologically sound. Another indication of the relatively low level of evaluation activity is given by the fact that two-thirds of the program evaluation efforts encompassed less than one percent of the total program funding. The current state of evaluation practice in general has been summarized by Weiss, "Much evaluation is poor, more is mediocre" (28, p. 320).

The evaluation of juvenile delinquency prevention programs has been summarized by Burns & Stern: "... there is little in the way of research or evaluation to back claims of success for any programs designed specifically to prevent delinquency ... there is a paucity of support or evidence for the effectiveness of programs which have been implemented" (3, p. 354).

This project reviewed over 6600 abstracts and wrote to more than 200 agencies and institutes. From that effort more than 350 articles, pamphlets, and unpublished reports were collected. Ninety-five of these articles and reports contained some form of empirical data about project efforts. Fifty percent of these studies used some form of comparison groups, of which about half (28% of the total) used a randomized or match subjects de-

sign. Forty-two percent of the reports contained a statistical analysis of their data. Fifty-six percent of the evaluations was based on multiple outcome measures. Forty-five percent gathered follow-up data at least six months after subjects had left the program. Forty percent of the reports contained data on the intensity of treatment. Twenty-eight percent reported either total project costs or average cost per subject.

Hopefully, the mandate of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 to evaluate all federally funded delinquency prevention programs will insure future evaluation efforts.

Delinquency Prevention Program Results: Nine Programmatic Areas

The 95 articles and reports containing evaluation data were grouped into nine areas. Table 1 presents these nine areas and the focus of the treatment strategy for each. The following review will describe each of these nine program areas and briefly summarize the effectiveness of each program strategy. A number of the 95 reports are not discussed in the subse-

TABLE 1
FOCUS OF STRATEGIES IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Strategy	Focus*		
	Immediate	Intermediate	Ultimate
1. Juvenile Court Programs	x		
2. Volunteers and Indigenous Nonprofessionals	x		
3. Individual and Group Counseling	x		
4. Social Casework	x		
5. Street-Corner Workers	x	x	
6. Area Projects and Youth Service Bureaus	x	x	
7. Educational and Vocational Programs	x	x	
8. Community Treatment Programs	x	x	
9. Miscellaneous			

* Adapted from Kahn (8), 1963.

Immediate = Direct services to individuals and families.

Intermediate = Concern with community and neighborhood.

Ultimate = Efforts at improving general environment and social structure.

quent text because they did not have comparison groups, they did not report statistical treatment of their data, or they failed to use outcome measures relevant for delinquency prevention. The findings of all these studies however, are summarized in tables 2 through 10 which accompany the following narrative as shown in the section headings.³

1. JUVENILE COURT PROJECTS (TABLE 2)

It is safe to say that probation is currently the primary strategy of our society regarding the problems of juvenile delinquency. Probation generally takes the form of individual counseling and periodic monitoring of the youth's problems at home and school. Probation officers are not able to render intensive treatment in every case, therefore, some measure of the degree of service rendered would appear to be a useful way of testing probation effectiveness.

Boys assigned to training schools have more serious recidivism rates than those placed on official probation. This may be due to the selectivity factor, e.g., where the more serious risks are assigned to the training schools. Random assignment of boys to official and unofficial probation has shown no difference in court records on a six month follow-up. In addition, unofficial probation costs less than official probation and youth have more positive attitudes toward their probation experience under unofficial probation. Being apprehended and coming into contact with the probation officer both increase future delinquency rates. It may be that the best type of probation for most delinquents is to simply give them a warning and release them.

Some courts have begun to utilize group counseling techniques as a method of increasing their services to probationers without reducing the heavy caseloads under which most probation officers operate. The studies reviewed indicate that group counseling techniques may not decrease the ultimate rate of recidivism, but they do seem to have an effect upon the probation experience itself by decreasing the number of weeks a youth is on probation, by influencing his personality development, and by decreasing the number of petitions filed against the youth while on probation. Group counseling techniques for probation officers are probably much more cost efficient, given equal out-

³ A complete bibliography of all studies cited in these tables follows the references at the end of Section 3.

TABLE 2
JUVENILE COURT PROJECTS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex ^c	Age	Group Assign. ^d			Stat. Anal. ^d	Criterion Measure ^e			Treatment			Funding ^f			Mos. in Operation		
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O			R	M	O		Y	N	Variables	Out- come ^e	Follow- up	Amt. D ^g	H	M	L		Duration	F
McEacern et al. (1968) (Probation) Southern Calif.	Court	1224	1066	x	x	x	x	x	10-16	x		x		Court records	-	1 yr.	x				x	x	x	
Venezia (1972) (Unofficial probation) Yolo County, Calif.	Court	65	58	x		x	x	x	15	x		x		Court records	0	6 mos.	x	5 mos./ subject		x	x			18 mos.
Scarpitti & Stephenson (1968) (Probation) Newark, N.J.	Court	943	267	x	x		x		16-17	x	x			Court records In-program ^h Failures Personality	+ 0 0	3 yrs.	x				x	x	x	36 mos.
Austin & Speldel (1971) (Family counseling) San Bernardino County, Calif.	Court	54	54				x	x	12-17	x		x		Court records Number of petitions filed Weeks on probation	0 + +	2 yrs.	x	4 hrs./wk. for 6 wks.		x				6 mos.
San Diego County (1970) (Group counseling) San Diego, Calif.	Court	261	261	x	x	x	x	x	13-16	x		x		Court records	+		x	Weekly for 6 wks.		x				12 mos.
Faust (1965) (Group counseling) Columbus, Ohio	Court	102	102				x	x	15-18	x		x		Release from probation Court records	+ 0		x							12 mos.
Douglas et al. (1965) (Group counseling) Toledo, Ohio	Court	6					x		15-16	x		x		Personality	+		x	Weekly for 8 mos.						8 mos.

NOTE: The following legend applies to Tables 2-10.

^a E = experimental group; C = comparison or control group.

^b C = Caucasian; N = Negro; O = other.

^c Method of group assignment: R = random; M = matched; O = other.

^d Statistical analysis: Y = yes; N = not reported or inappropriate.

^e Outcome:

+ = positive change (e.g., less delinquency for the experimental group);

0 = no change or no difference between the groups;

- = negative change.

^f Amount of treatment description: H = high; M = medium; L = low.

^g Funding source: F = federal; S = state; L = local; O = other.

comes, than is individual casework which currently is the most prevalent practice.

In summary, the effectiveness of juvenile court probation has yet to be demonstrated. The positive findings reported in the literature are open to diverse interpretations since there may be "creaming" in that the high risk youth are not assigned to probation treatment.

2. PROGRAMS EMPLOYING VOLUNTEERS AND INDIGENOUS NON-PROFESSIONALS (TABLE 3)

Volunteers in probation is a relatively new concept which began with the Royal Oaks, Michigan projects for older youths and young adults. The philosophy behind such programs seems to stem from a recognition that probationary staff are overloaded, that official handling by a juvenile court may have negative "labeling" effects, that involvement of community residents with their own problems will serve to stimulate creative approaches to delinquency prevention and control and will be beneficial to both the community and its youth, and that such programs can certainly decrease costs. These programs often operate under various names, such as Buddies, Partners, Big Brothers, Y-Pals, and Advocates.

The use of volunteers in probation and in delinquency prevention programs has generally yielded positive results. These findings must be viewed, however, with great caution since they are most often based on subjective opinions and inadequate evaluation designs. The future success of these programs may lie in the nature of the interpersonal relationship between the volunteer and juvenile.

3. INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP COUNSELING (TABLE 4)

Individual counseling programs in delinquency treatment have a long history going back to the Cambridge-Somerville project which was initiated in Boston in 1934 by Dr. Richard Cabot. The guiding hypothesis of the project was that delinquent and potentially delinquent boys could be diverted from criminal careers if they were provided with the continued friendship of adults who were interested in them and who could secure them access to needed community services. The studies by Powers and Witmer (16) and McCord, McCord, and Zola (12) of the Cambridge-Somerville project still stand as the most carefully documented studies of individual treatment for

TABLE 3
PROGRAMS EMPLOYING VOLUNTEERS AND INDIGENOUS NONPROFESSIONALS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex ^c		Age	Group Assign. ^e			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^g F S L O	Mos. In Operation
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O	M	F		R	M	O	Y	N	Variables	Out-come ^f		Amt. D. ^h H M L	Duration		
Fo & O'Donnell (1973) (Buddies) Honolulu, Hawaii	Multiple agencies	35	7	x	x		x	x	11-17	x	x				Truancy	+		x		x x	12 mos.
Forward et al. (1973) (Partners) Denver, Colo.	Police	26	22	x	x	x	x	x	11-17	x			x		Self-reported delinquency Court records Self-concept Social attitudes Expectations	+ + 0 0 0	8 mos.	x	3 hrs./wk. for 6 mos.	x x	12 mos.
Community Council Board (1973) (Big Brothers) Phoenix, Ariz.	Police	100		x	x	x	x		7-17	x			x		Police records Type of offense	+ 0		x		x x	18 mos.
Morris (1970) Royal Oak, Mich.	Court	500	250				x		17-25	x					Court records Employment School dropout Personality	+ + - +	5-18 mos.	x		x x	48 mos.
Rosenbaum et al. (1969) Royal Oak, Mich.	Court	92	82				x		17-25	x	x				Court records Personality	+ +	18 mos.	x		x x	
Carter et al. (1974) (VISA) Orange Co., Calif.	School	156							6-12	x			x		Area police rates Attitude of parents, teachers, staff	+ +		x		x x	30 mos.
Elliott & LeBouef (1973) (Y-Pals) Lincoln, Ncb.	Multiple agencies	112					x	x	6-15	x			x		Police records	+		x	74 mos./ subject	x x	24 mos.
Pines & Ridgley (1974) (Youth Advocate Project) Baltimore, Md.	Court & School	142	396	x	x	x	x	x	11-17	x			x		Court records	+	22 wks	x	6 mos./ subject	x x	18 mos.
Howell (1972) (Probation officers vs. volunteers) Adams County, Colo.	Court	40	40	x			x	x	15-17	x			x		Court records Police records Counselor & teacher rating Personality	0 0 0 0		x	8 mos./ subject	x x x	15 mos.

TABLE 4
INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP COUNSELING

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b		Sex		Age	Group Assign. ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^e			Mos. in Operation		
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O	M		F	R	M	O	Y	N	Variables		Out-come ^f	Amt. ^g	D.	H	M		L	F
Powers & Witmer (1951) (Individual) Boston, Mass.	Court	325	325	x	x		x	13-22	x		x		Court records Personality Adjustment rating	0 +		x						x		120 mos.
McCord et al. (1959) (Individual) Boston, Mass.	Court	253	128	x	x		x	13-22	x		x		Court records	0		x						x		120 mos.
Thomas (1968) (Individual) Location unlisted	School	25	25							x		x	Police records Court records School record Personality Teacher ratings	0 + + + +			x	Weekly- 1 yr.						12 mos.
Szymanski & Fleming (1971) (Individual) Boston, Mass.	Court	8					x	14-16	x		x		Court records	0	1 yr.	x		4-5 meetings						12 mos.
Holliman (1970) (Individual vs. Group) Location unlisted	Court	24	24				x	x	14-17		x	x	Behavior factors	0			x							
Sole et al. (1969) (Group) Cheyenne, Wyo.	Multiple agencies	14	8				x	13-17		x	x		Personality	+			x	10 weeks		x	x			3 mos.
Ostrom et al. (1971) (Group) Columbus, Ohio	Court	19	19	x	x		x	15-16	x		x		Police record School record Personality	0 0 +	10 mos.	x		7 meetings		x	x			2 mos.
Daane et al. (1969) (Group) Albuquerque, N. M. & Phoenix, Ariz.	Neighborhood Youth Corps	160	64				x	x			x	x	Court records Job absenteeism School record Attitudes Personality	+ 0 0 + 0		x	Twice weekly- 8 wks.							

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14.

officially defined delinquents. The finding in these studies of no significant treatment effects for counseling services has yet to be disputed in subsequent research. Group counseling techniques with youths referred from the courts have not yielded positive results when counseling, in and of itself, was the only mode of treatment.

A form of group counseling technique, guided group interaction, has often been paired with activities in community settings. These projects will be reviewed in section 8. It may be that certain kinds of counseling techniques work for certain kinds of youth, but that has yet to be documented. It is also likely that counseling alone will not be effective for children who suffer from extreme personality disorders and who live in conditions of extreme social deprivation. But if that is true, counselors cannot take credit for their "successes" with such children either. In summary, individual and group counseling has not proven to be an effective treatment modality for the reduction of further delinquent behavior; therefore, these treatment approaches are not recommended unless accompanied by *stringent* evaluation designs.

4. SOCIAL CASEWORK (TABLE 5)

Historically, the failure of the Cambridge-Somerville Project was accompanied by increasing recognition of the limitations of court child guidance centers. These centers generally provided services by studying and diagnosing youths and then making recommendations to the court.

Social casework implies professional work with a youngster, including the delivery of needed services to youth and intervention to alleviate family and school problems. The first of the social casework evaluations began when the New York City Youth Board initiated a test of the Glueck Prediction Tables in 1952, and the Washington, D. C. Youth Council began a similar project in 1954. Craig and Furst (4) and Tait and Hodges (21) reported 10 years' follow-up of the subjects of those projects. In both studies, the experimental and control groups yielded the same number of delinquents during the follow-up interval. Neither study offered encouragement for child guidance therapy or social casework as a means of reducing serious delinquency.

The most extensive reports concerning social casework have come from the Seattle-Atlantic Street Center Delinquency Prevention Experiment (1, 2, 7). Intensive social services, lasting

TABLE 5
SOCIAL CASEWORK

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex	Age	Group Assign ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d	Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^e	Mos. in Operation
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O			R	M	O		Variables	Out-come		Amt. D. ^f	Duration		
Craig & Furst (1965) (Child Guidance Clinic) New York, N. Y.	1st grade	29	29	x	x	x	x	5-6	x			x	Court records Teacher reports	0 0	10 yrs.	x	50 mos.	x	60 mos.
Tait & Hodges (1971) (Social Casework) Washington, D. C.	School	98	49	x	x	x	x	5-14		x	x		Court records	0	14 yrs.	x			36 mos.
Meyer et al. (1965) (Social Casework) New York, N. Y.	School	189	192	x	x	x	x	14-17	x			x	School record Truancy Pregnancy	0 + 0		x		x	48 mos.
Braxton (1966) (Family Casework) Detroit, Mich.	Police	71				x	x	10-16		x		x	Police record	+		x	1-8 interview	x	12 mos.
Baron et al. (1973) (Family Crisis Therapy) Sacramento, Calif.	Police, Schools, Parents	903	558				x	x		x		x	Court records Petitions filed Detention	+ + +	7 mos.	x	1-5 sessions	x	9 mos.
Berleman et al. (1972) (Social Services) Seattle, Wash.	Court & School	52	50	x	x		x	12-14	x			x	School discipline records Police records Commitments to training schools Parent ratings	— — — 0 +	18 mos.	x	1-2 yrs.	x	72 mos.

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14

from one to two years, were given to experimental boys and their families. The evaluation used randomly assigned control groups of central city junior high school boys. After an 18-month follow-up, school discipline and police records showed that the experimental group performed worse, i.e., they were more delinquent than the untreated control group. As a form of labeling, social casework may have a negative effect on potential delinquents. At the very least, intercity youth "... are simply unaffected by social service if school-disciplinary and police measures are used to assess possible behavioral change" (1, p. 343).

Social casework may be beneficial when applied to youth who come into contact with the juvenile justice system at an early age, and it may be helpful for less serious problems such as those associated with school adjustment. But in general it has not proven effective. Therefore, its use as a delinquency prevention or treatment technique is not encouraged.

5. STREET-CORNER WORKERS (TABLE 6)

Street-corner worker programs developed partly as an answer to failure of recreational projects to demonstrate an ability to reduce delinquent behavior and partly from the efforts of the Chicago Area Project by Shaw and others (30). The idea behind street-corner workers was to make contact with juvenile gangs, gain their confidence, and then direct their disruptive energies into positive channels. But the idea has not proven viable. Not only have the traditional street-corner programs failed to prove effective in reducing delinquent behavior, but there is some evidence that they may increase the cohesiveness of the gang and thereby indirectly influence the gang to further exploits.

The issues of the intensity of treatment services by street-gang workers must certainly be addressed:

Whether one looks at this as an hour and a half a day, or a day a week, or ten weeks out a year, this is a fascinating piece of information. Gang workers in this project spent one-fifth of their time with gang members (and a few siblings, cousins, friends, or schoolmates from time to time). With 50 to 100 gang members in the neighborhood, and eight hours a week spent in contact with them, how much impact can reasonably be expected? It seems presumptuous to think that an average of five minutes per week per boy could somehow result in

TABLE 2
 CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLES

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size		Age Range	Sex	Ethnicity	Location
		N	%				
Gandy (1959) (Street-club work) Chicago, Ill.	Gang membership	326		14-24	M	White	Chicago, Ill.
Miller (1962) (Gang work) Boston, Mass.	Gang membership	209	100	14-24	M	White	Boston, Mass.
Adams (1967) (Group-Guidance) Los Angeles, Calif.	Gang membership	43	57	14-24	M	White	Los Angeles, Calif.
Caplan (1968) (Street-gang work) Chicago, Ill.	Gang membership	104		14-24	M	White	Chicago, Ill.
Klein (1969) (Group-guidance) Los Angeles, Calif.	Gang membership	798		14-24	M	White	Los Angeles, Calif.
Klein (1971) (Reduce gang cohesion) Los Angeles, Calif.	Gang membership	118		14-24	M	White	Los Angeles, Calif.

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2 page 11

a reduction in delinquent behavior, even if it is matched by half again as much time with some of the significant adults around him. It may be the peculiar conceit of the social scientist and the social worker to think that his five minutes can overcome the forces that have been at work for 10 or 20 years to bring a client to the point at which he can be labeled delinquent or gang member or criminal offender. As one of our colleagues succinctly put it, "Just who the hell do we think we are, what do we think we've got, to change all this?" (9, p. 144).

Klein (10) reasoned that street-corner workers may increase gang cohesiveness and, therefore, operate contrary to the goal of reducing delinquency. If the gang with an attached worker gains status in the eyes of other gangs, they may be compelled to maintain the status. Klein's second safari into gang work explicitly attempted to disrupt gang cohesiveness (10). The Ládino Hills Project was undertaken in a Mexican-American community of Los Angeles during a one-and-a-half-year period, and the research included a six-months follow-up. Official court records and participant observation data revealed both a reduction in gang cohesiveness and in officially recorded delinquent behavior.

The traditional street-corner worker approach has not proved successful in reducing delinquent behavior and may be detrimental to that goal. Use of this type of approach for the purpose of delinquency prevention should be strongly discouraged until Klein's "gang disruption model" is tested further and found to be successful.

6. AREA PROJECTS AND YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS (TABLE 7)

Area projects have a long history, over 30 years, beginning with the work of Clifford Shaw and the Chicago Area Projects. The area approach assumes that delinquency in slum areas stems from a lack of neighborhood cohesiveness and a lack of residents' concern about the welfare of their children. Area projects, therefore, attempt to involve people in changing the character of their neighborhood and thereby making it a better place for children to grow up. Witmer and Tufts (30) found very few reports on area projects. No recent evaluation reports were discovered.

Youth service bureaus represent a relatively new approach to delinquency prevention, and were suggested by the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administra-

TABLE 7
AREA PROJECTS AND YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex	Age	Group Assign. ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d	Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment			Funding ^e				Mos. In Operation			
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O	M		F	R	M	O	Y	N		Variables	Out-come ^f	Amt. D. ^g	H	M	L	Duration		F	S	L
Brewer et al. (1958) (Lane County Youth Project) Eugene, Ore.	Multiple agencies	114	114				x	x	12-21		x	x	Court records School record Attitude—school	+		x					x	x	x	24 mos.		
Jones & Fishman (1967) (Cardozo Area Program) Washington, D. C.	Ghetto residence	525			x		x	x	14-17		x	x	Court records	+		x					x			24 mos.		
Reuthebeck (1971) (Kentucky's Y.S.B.'s) Kentucky	Multiple agencies	153			x	x		x	12-18		x	x	Area arrest rates	+					x			x	x		12 mos.	
Community Services for Children (1972) Olympia, Wash.	Multiple agencies	273							10-18		x	x	Police record Court records Increase in services Parent & staff ratings	+	6 mos.	x					x	x		12 mos.		
City of Chicago (1972) (Joint Youth Development Program) Chicago, Ill.	Police	412					x	x	9-18		x	x	Recidivism to center	+					x			x	x ^h	24 mos.		
Elliott & LeBouef (1973) (Youth Service System) Lincoln, Neb.	Court, Schools, Police	137			x	x		x	6-20		x	x	Court records	+					x				x	x	x	24 mos.
Carter & Gilbert (1973) (Alternate Routes Project) Orange County, Calif.	Court, Police, Schools	99			x	x		x	M 14.7		x	x	Youth attitudes Community attitudes Cost reduction	+					x			x	x		24 mos.	
Community Council (1973) (Youth Service Bureau) Phoenix, Ariz.	Multiple agencies	100						x	10-18		x	x	Court records	+					x				x		36 mos.	
Duxbury (1973) (California Y.S. B.'s) California	Multiple agencies	1340			x	x	x		10-18		x	x	Court records Area arrest rates	+	6 mos.	x						x	x	x	24 mos.	

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14

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TABLE 7 (Continued)
AREA PROJECTS AND YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

AREA PROJECTS AND YOUTH SERVICE SERVICES																									
Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex	Age	Group Assign. ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure			Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^e			Mos. In Operation		
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O			R	M	O	Y	N	Variables	Out-come ^f	Amt. D. ^g		H	M	L	Duration	F		S	L
ABT Associates (1974) (Neighborhood Youth Resources Center) Philadelphia, Pa.	Multiple agencies	2 districts			x	x	x	x	10-17		x		x		Area arrest rates Truancy Penetration PINS referrals	+ + + +			x				x	x	18 mos.
Baker (1974) (Youth Development Corporation) Lansing, Mich.	Court. Police	90	90	x	x	x		x	x	13-20		x		x	Police record Court record School suspension Client & staff questionnaire	0 0 + +			x				x	x	15 mos.
Liedtke et al. (1974) (Youth Diversion) Portland, Ore.	Court	57	40	x	x	x		x	x	10-18		x		x	Court record	0	3 mos.		x					x	6 mos.

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14

tion of Justice (17). The youth service bureau represents a variety of efforts centered around coordinating existing services, providing for nonexistent but needed services, and diverting youth from further involvement with the criminal justice system. Few of the projects in Table 7 have been in operation long enough for adequate evaluation. Of the 12 reports, 10 contained relatively positive outcomes about the effectiveness of youth service bureaus. However, some common threats to the validity of these findings are the lack of comparison groups, the lack of follow-up information, and the heavy reliance on subjective opinion.

7. EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS (TABLE 8)

Educational and vocational programs for delinquency prevention and treatment represent a varied collection of intervention strategies. These range from a complete focus on the school system through part-time work-study projects to an intensive focus upon job finding and manpower training. They share a common theme in that each project attempts to integrate youth into the mainstream of society's values with regard to education and work.

Few of the educational programs reviewed in Table 8 used official delinquent behavior for evaluation purposes. It is interesting to note that many projects which incorporate the goal of delinquency prevention and reduction often fail to use for evaluation purposes the very data which justifies their funding.

Two reports focused specifically on school projects. Wallace (1969) reported a three-year project which provided intensive counseling services for pupils with behavior problems and compared them with a matched control group. Reckless and Dinitz (18) evaluated an experimental prevention program conducted in the seventh grade of inner-city junior high schools. The experimental and comparison subjects were chosen by teacher nominations as being "boys headed for delinquency." Youth with low IQs or emotional or physical handicaps were excluded. In both reports, even though students and staff had favorable opinions, neither project had any effect—intensive counseling and special classroom attention did not reduce delinquency or disruptive school behavior.

Work-study projects generally take the form of providing a half-day in school and a half-day of supervised work experience. The work experience is seen as the experimental varia-

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TABLE 8.
EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b				Sex		Age	Group Assign ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment				Funding ^e				Mos. in Operation
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O		M	F		R	M	O	Y	N	Variables	Out-come ^f		Amt. D. ^g	H	M	L	Duration	F	S	L	O
Seagraves (1973) (Teaching Law) Redwood City, Calif.	Grades 7 & 8	1079	745	x	x			x	x		x			x		Attitude toward law Knowledge of law	+		x			10 hrs.				x	12 mos.
Bouma & Williams (1970) (Police-counselor program) Bridgeport, Mich.	Grades 6-12	2 schools	1 school	x	x			x	x		x			x		Attitude toward police	+		x					x	x		12 mos.
Dailey (1967) (Anti delinquency school programs) Washington, D. C.	School	1634		x	x			x	x	M 17			x	x		Reading	+							x			12 mos.
Demsch & Garth (1968) (Truancy prevention) Chicago, Ill.	School	48						x		7-13			x	x		Truancy	+	4 yrs.		x			10 mos.		x		60 mos.
Wallace (1969) (Intensive counseling) Tulsa, Okla.	Court	75	84	x	x	x		x	x	13-21	x		x			School offenses Court records	0 0		x			1 hr./day		x	x		36 mos.
Poolley (1971) (Graduate student counselors) Carbondale, Ill.	School	24	13	x	x			x	x				x	x		Personality	+		x						x		36 mos.
Bartlett & Newberger (1973) (Court-centered school) Sioux Falls, S. D.	Court	60											x	x		Return to public school Educators' ratings Parents' ratings Students' ratings	+							x	x		9 mos.
Reckless & Dinitz (1972) (Special classes) Columbus, Ohio	Teacher nominated	632	462	x	x			x		M 13.2	x			x		Police records Self-reported delinquency School dropout School grades Attitudes Reading ability	0 0 0 0 0 +	1 yr.	x			9 mos.		x	x		60 mos.

^aE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14

TABLE 8 (Continued)
EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS

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Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex ^c	Age	Group Assign. ^d			Stat. Anal. ^e	Criterion Measure			Treatment		Funding ^f	Mos. in Operation
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O			R	M	O		Variables	Out-come ^g	Follow-up	Amt. D. ^h	Duration		
Radabaugh & Kirby (1973) (Project CARE) Charleston, W. Va.	School	4 schools						1-12 grade	x			x	School dropout Absenteeism Referrals to court Education ratings	+		x		x x	12 mos.
Rader (1972) (Service coordination) Oklahoma	School	4 schools		x	x	x	x x	K-4 grade	x		x	x	Teacher rating of delinquency potential Teachers' ratings Parents' ratings	+	1 yr.	x		x x	24 mos.
School Board of Leon County (1974) (Youth Service Agency) Tallahassee, Fla.	School	1 county						Elem.-high school				x	Attendance rate Suspension rate	+		x		x x	6 mos.
Womack & Wiener (1968) (Work study program) Houston, Tex.	Court	303		x	x	x	x x	15-21	x		x	x	Police records Commitments to training school	0		x		x	12 mos.
Jeffrey & Jeffrey (1969) (Work study program) Washington, D. C.	School	167		x			x x	16-21	x		x	x	Passing G E D Project dropout Reduction of delinquent acts	0 0 0		x		x	36 mos.
Ahlstrom & Havighurst (1971) (Work study program) Kansas City, Mo.	School	200	200	x	x		x	13-14	x		x	x	Police records High school graduation Work experience School attitudes	0 0 0 0	5 yrs.	x		x x	72 mos.
Xent Co. (1973) (Work-study) Grand Rapids, Mich.	Court	54					x	14-16	x		x	x	Court records Program graduate	+		x	13 wks.	x	48 mos.
Hackler (1966) & Hackler & Linden (1970) (Work program) Seattle, Wash.	Housing project	160	80	x	x		x	13-15	x		x	x	Police record Self-perceptions Alienation Public support	0 0 0 +		x		x x	12 mos.

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14.

TABLE 8 (Continued)
EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b		Sex		Age	Group Assign. ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^e	Mos. in Operation			
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O	M		F	R	M	O	Y	N	Variables		Out-come ^f	Amt. D. ^g			H	M	L
Walther & Magnusson (1967) (Neighborhood Youth Corps) Cincinnati, Durham, N. C., E. St. Louis, St. Louis	Multiple sources	325	135	x	x		x	16-20				x		Police records— females Police records— males Unemployment— females Unemployment— males Supplemental education Occupational aspirations	+ 0 + 0 + 0	1 yr.	x		8 mos.	x	24 mos.		
Goodwill Industries (1967) (Job training) Springfield, Mass.	Court	48	19	x	x		x	14-23			x	x		Police record Employment Job stability	+ + +		x			x	x	18 mos.	
National Committee for Children and Youth (1971) (Manpower Services) Washington, D. C.	Court	123		x	x	x	x	15-18			x	x		Police record	0	1 yr.	x			x		36 mos.	
New York State (1973) (Job training) New York, N. Y.	Court									x		x		Police record Attitudes	0 +		x			x			
Shore & Massimo (1966, 1969) (Vocational psychotherapy) Boston, Mass.	School	10	10				x	15-17	x			x		Police record Employment record Academic achievement Personality	+ + + +	3 yrs.	x			x	x	x	10 mos.

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14.

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ble, that is, the treatment. There is some indication that youth in work-study programs react negatively to being selected for those programs, especially when their work experiences keep them on the school grounds in public view. It may be that these students are sensitive to peer comments about being placed on "work-gangs." Those programs which have focused more on job training and manpower services than on educational remediation generally have proved more successful. However, there may be some differential effects due to the different age ranges of participants in these programs. There are also problems involving the delivery of work experiences to youth who are still legally "committed" to the school—the 15- to 16-year-old group. This may be the most difficult group for which to provide services. The provision of job training, once a youth is legally old enough to leave the school system, may be a much more effective service for both the youth and the community than is the provision of such services to younger age groups, especially where a job and school activities are combined.

Evidence to suggest that work projects may be differentially effective for different groups was presented by Walther and Magnusson (25). These authors evaluated the effectiveness of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program in four cities. Their evaluation showed that the Neighborhood Youth Corps did have an effect on Negro females. That subgroup had fewer police contacts, less unemployment, greater attitude changes, and a higher proportion of continued education after dropping out of school than the comparison group. The Neighborhood Youth Corps was not successful in working with Caucasian females or with males of either race. Work project evaluations have yielded results which are conflicting and inconclusive.

8. COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROGRAMS (TABLE 9)

Community treatment programs may best be termed prevention-by-treatment since the referral source is almost always the juvenile court. The services provided by community projects include foster-home care, group-homes, guided group interaction, residential youth centers, and differential community parole. These projects are often viewed as alternatives to incarceration for delinquent youths. Some of the better evaluation reports, as regards comparison groups, subject selection, and statistical analyses, are found in this literature.

Guided Group Interaction (GGI) was the central form of

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TABLE 9
COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROGRAMS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex M F	Age	Group Assign ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^e			Mos. In Operation
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O			R	M	O	Y	N	Variables	Outcome ^f		Amt. D. ^g H M L	Duration	F	S	L	
McCord et al. (1968) (Foster-home) Boston, Mass.	Court	19	19				x	9-17	x		x			Rate of deviance	—	12 yrs	x		x	x		96 mos.
Wilgosh (1973) (Group-homes) Toronto, Can.	Court	21					x x	12-16		x		x		Court records Subsequent placements Returned home	0 0 —	2 yrs.	x				x	
Palmer (1972) (Group-homes) Sacramento & Stockton, Calif.	Court	12	84	x	x	x	x	M - 17		x		x		Parole failure Community acceptance	0 +	2 yrs.	x	10 mos.	x	x		36 mos.
Wolf et al. (1971) (Achievement Place) Lawrence, Kan.	Court	16	18				x	12-16		x		x		Police records Court records School attendance Grades	+ + + +	2 yrs	x	M - 10 mos.	x	x		36 mos.
City of Chicago (1972) (Youth Service Homes) Chicago, Ill.	Court	26					x x	13-16		x		x		Court records Completion of probation	0 —		x	M - 8 mos.	x	x		15 mos.
Weeks (1970) (Highfields) Highfields, N. J.	Court	233	122	x	x		x	16-17		x		x		Institutional recidivism Attitude change Personality change	+ 0 0	1 yr.	x			x	x	96 mos.
Hussey et al. (1970) & Steinman & Fernald (1968) (Residential Youth Center) Portland, Me.	Multiple agencies	67					x	14-18		x		x		Time lag to finding a job Hours worked Staff ratings School performance Publicity Self-concept	— — — — + 0	x			x	x	24 mos.	
Goldenberg (1971) & Boys Residential Youth Center (1968) New Haven, Conn.	Multiple agencies	20	20	x	x	x	x	15-22	x			x		Police records Days in jail Weekly wages Attitudes	+ + + +	6 mos	x			x		24 mos.
City of Chicago (1973) (A. Residential) Chicago, Ill.	Court	45					x	x	16-18		x		x	Police records Successful termination Client ratings	0 — +	8 mos.	x	M - 6 mos.	x	x		24 mos.

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14.

COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROGRAMS

Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b			Sex	Age	Group Assign. ^c			Stat. Anal. ^d		Criterion Measure			Treatment				Funding ^e	Mos. in Operation				
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	O			M	F	R	M	O	Y	N	Variables	Out-come ^f	Follow-up	Amt. D. ^g	H			M	L	Duration	F
Empey & Erickson (1972, Provo Experiment) Provo, Utah	Court	115	211	x			x	14-18	x			x		Program dropouts	0	4 yrs.	x				4-7 mos.	x	x			60 mos.
														Arrests during program	+											
														Tech. efficiency rating	0											
														Arrests—probation group	0											
														Arrests—committed group	+											
														Confinements—probation group	+											
														Confinements—committed group	+											
Empey & Lubeck (1971) (Silverlake Experiment) Los Angeles, Calif.	Court	140	121	x	x	x	x	15-18	x			x		Arrests rates	+	1 yr.	x						x	x	x	36 mos.
														Program graduates	—											
														Reduction of offenses	0											
														Degree of seriousness	+											
Pinick et al. (1968) (Collegefields) Essex Co., N. J.	Court	25					x	14-15			x	x		Court record	+	6 mos.	x			10 hr./day			x			16 mos.
Stephenson & Scarpitti (1969) (Essexfields) Essex Co., N. J.	Court	100	1100	x	x	x	x	16-17			x		x	Court record	+	3 yrs.		x		4-5 mos.			x	x		60 mos.
														Program graduate	+											
														Personality	+											
New York State (1973) (Short-term Aid to Youth) New York, N. Y.	Multiple agencies	1065		x	x	x	x	15-18			x		x	Arrest record	0	2 yrs.		x		M	3 mos.			x		72 mos.
Palmer (1971) (Community Treatment Project) California	Court	686	328	x	x	x	x	13-19	x			x		Parole suspensions	—	5 yrs.	x						x	x		60 mos.
														Recidivism	+											
														Favorable discharge	0											
														Unfavorable discharge	+											
														Psychological tests	+											
														Post-discharge arrests	0											

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14.

TABLE 10,
MISCELLANEOUS PROGRAMS

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Reference	Subject Referral Source	Sample Size ^a		Race ^b		Sex	Age	Group Assign ^c		Stat Anal ^d	Criterion Measure		Follow-up	Treatment		Funding ^e			Mos. in Operation							
		E(n)	C(n)	C	N	M		F	R	M	G	Y		N	Variables	Out-come ^f	Amt	D ^g		H	M	L	Duration	F	S	L
Bomberger (1970) (Youth Police Reserves) Sheridan, Ore.	Self					x	x	14-21		x	x	Vandalism Possession of alcohol	+	2 yrs.		x						x				60 mos.
Elliott & LeBouef (1973) (Temporary shelter) Lincoln, Neb.	Multiple sources	160				x	x	12-18		x	x	Police record	-			x	M - 7 days				x	x			24 mos.	
Schwitzgebel & Kolb (1964) & Schwitzgebel (1964) (Tape-recorded interviews) Boston, Mass.	Project solicited	20	20			x		15-21		x	x	Number of arrests Mos. incarcerated Prison recidivism	+	3 yrs.	x		2-3 hrs./wk.				x				10 mos.	
Olson & Carpenter (1971) (School vandalism Survey)		248 schools									x	School size Type of facilities School value Amount of glass Surveillance Extra curricular operations	- 0 - + 0 -							x						
Brown & Dodson (1968) (Boys' Club) Louisville, Ky.		1 club				x					x	Area police arrest rates	+	8 yrs.		x					x	x			96 mos.	
YMCA (1973) (Mini-bikes Project) 296 projects in 45 states	Multiple sources	7370				x		15-21			x	Recidivism Community attitudes	- +			x					x	x			24 mos.	

NOTE: For legend see footnote to Table 2, page 14

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treatment for three New Jersey projects—Highfields (27), Collegefields (15), and Essexfields (20). These evaluations all reported less delinquency in the treatment groups compared with the control groups. However, they were not able to control for possible subject bias in their selection procedures, and they did not report statistical analyses of their results.

The community treatment approach is a relatively new one in delinquency prevention. Of the 22 recommendations made by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (17) in the area of corrections, 8 called for community-based programs. Evaluation reports of the community treatment approach are not consistent in their findings, but one conclusion has not been contested: ". . . even if one remains cautious in his interpretation of the evidence, the indication is always that *community intervention is at least as effective as incarceration*. This is a matter not to be taken lightly" (6, p. 200).

Community treatment holds promise for the future for those youths who have come into contact with the court and for those who are in need of more than informal handling or probation. Community treatment can be supported on theoretical grounds as well. Institutions are much less likely to be in a position to deal with whatever environmental situations contribute to delinquent behavior. Finally, budgetary considerations alone make community projects worthy of further funding and evaluation research.

9. MISCELLANEOUS PROGRAMS (TABLE 10)

Table 40 represents a collection of evaluations which did not fit into any of the preceding categories. Schwitzgebel and Kolb (19) reported a carefully documented research effort using learning principles to shape dependable and prompt attendance to a part-time job. After three years' follow-up, the number of arrests in the experimental group was significantly less than the number in the comparison group.

Olson and Carpenter (14) surveyed 248 schools in which they asked about the techniques for controlling vandalism and about physical characteristics, type of facilities, amount of surveillance, and kinds of school operations. School size, the value of the school, and the amount of extracurricular activities held in the evening were related to higher vandalism rates. Exterior floodlighting, extra custodial hours, and frequent police checks

were not. However, the amount of glass in a school's exterior walls (more glass) was associated with reduced vandalism.

In summary, these 95 empirical studies confirm that an extremely small percentage of delinquency and youth development efforts are ever evaluated, even minimally. Furthermore, even when adequate evaluation is performed, few studies show significant results. Finally, information, which policy makers are most interested in is virtually nonexistent.

No responsible business concern would operate with as little information regarding its success or failure as do nearly all of our delinquency prevention and control programs. It is almost possible to count on one hand the number of true experiments in which alternative techniques are compared; the number of systematic, though nonexperimental, evaluations is not a great deal larger. We spend millions of dollars a year in preventive and corrective efforts, with little other than guess work to tell us whether we are getting the desired effects (29, p. 442).

Concurrent Validity

Research findings in other social areas have shown that diverse techniques and procedures such as social work, psychotherapy, counseling, and corrections which deal with different social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, school problems, and children's emotional disturbances, also have not consistently produced positive results.

Mullen and Dumpson (13) reviewed the field of social work and found that there were either no significant differences between experimental and control groups, or very limited and questionable gains. They concluded that there is no evidence that professional social work and intervention (including social work plus counseling and psychotherapy) is effective. Likewise, positive benefits from psychotherapy as a means of dealing with neurotic children and the emotional problems of the adults have not been established. Truax and Carkhuff (22) came to the conclusion that, in general, social problems are not effected by current counseling techniques.

Mann (11) reviewed the evaluative research literature of four content areas: psychotherapy, counseling, human relations training, and education. She concluded that there is little difference in the results of evaluative studies conducted in different content areas.

In the area of health and welfare, Elinson reviewed ten papers on social action programs. His conclusion was "... none of the ten programs of social intervention achieved striking positive results" (5, p. 299). Ward and Kassebaum (26) reviewed the literature and several unpublished reports on corrections and arrived at the conclusion that corrections has not demonstrated an ability to increase inmate docility or decrease recidivism. Also, Vinter and Janowitz (24) found that despite some efforts, juvenile correctional institutions have not made significant advances beyond mere custody.

All of this points to the enormous difficulty of changing human behavior, and of evaluating the effectiveness of change programs. In addition, the above citations support our own finding that there is little in the way of effective programs in yet another area of "people changing"—the area of juvenile delinquency prevention. Optimistically, we can only report that some programs do seem to offer some hope that a reduction in delinquency is possible.

Programs Which Show Promise or Are in Need of Further Evaluation

From the review of those studies in the literature which contain evidence of program effectiveness, certain types of programs either demonstrated some degree of effectiveness or had so little evaluation as to make it difficult to judge whether or not they were effective. In particular, these were vocational training programs, programs which use volunteers, community treatment projects, and youth service bureaus.

The evidence for vocational training is mixed. In some cases no positive results have been found, in others there is an indication that this type of activity is beneficial to some delinquents. There is certainly no question that many youth are in need of vocational skills and that without such skills their future employment is limited. The evidence seems to warrant further research in this area to establish the efficacy of these programs.

The use of volunteers is increasing, and evidence seems to indicate that in addition to having a lower cost, programs which use volunteers have a number of other advantages. Volunteers are as effective with juveniles as court probation officers and other trained professionals, and in some cases, more effective. The precise way in which volunteers produce these positive ef-

fects and the best methods of utilizing volunteers has not been determined, however. More evaluation of volunteer programs should be undertaken and aimed at finding answers to these questions.

Community treatment projects offer an expanded range of treatment methodologies for dealing with those youth who are in need of more than casual supervision. These programs seem to offer a real measure of hope for reducing delinquency. Evidence from program evaluations indicate that such programs are at least as effective as institutionalization and, in addition, are less stigmatizing, less costly, and more humane than institutionalization. Such programs deserve more careful study and should be systematically explored in order to maximize their potential for reducing youth crime.

Youth service bureaus represent one of the newest and least evaluated areas of delinquency prevention. As one of the bright new stars on the horizon of delinquency prevention, such projects should be carefully evaluated in a manner appropriate to their goal of general reduction of juvenile delinquency rates.

The major need in each of these areas is for evaluation which makes comparisons between program types as to effectiveness and within programs for the purpose of identifying those elements which have impact on project effectiveness. It is easy to call for this type of evaluation, but somewhat difficult to convey the importance of carefully thought out and well executed research evaluation, and the effect such evaluation could have on the field of delinquency prevention.

Programs Yet to Show Effective Results

The results from the review and evaluation of empirical studies led to the conclusion that several of these program areas have consistently failed to demonstrate that they reduce or prevent delinquency. The use of individual and group counseling is one such case. Many programs use these techniques in conjunction with other activities. In these instances it is often impossible to judge the effectiveness of counseling. However, where counseling is the major or only intervention activity there is no evidence which suggests that this prevents or reduces delinquency. This is not to say that counseling does not have positive benefits; however, it is ineffective as a means of controlling delinquency.

Social casework is another area which has not shown posi-

tive results. Several very careful studies have been undertaken where this method was the chief means of treatment. They demonstrated that casework either had no effect or had a negative effect on delinquency rates. One report did indicate a positive effect where casework involved the use of family crisis therapy. However, the overwhelming evidence is that for whatever good may result from social casework it is not an effective means of delinquency reduction.

The detached worker or street-corner gang worker approach has likewise failed to demonstrate positive results. In this case, we have even stronger evidence that in some cases this approach can increase delinquency rather than reduce it. The single exception to this picture of negative results or no effects is a case where gang workers deliberately attempted to disrupt gangs and gang identity.

Recreational programs have likewise not demonstrated any effects on official delinquency rates. Such programs are often cited as positive examples of delinquency control, indicating the large number of youths enrolled, the number of events participated in and so forth. The physical well-being of youth represents a valid reason for funding recreational programs. However, there is no evidence that these programs in any way alter delinquency.

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4 Policy Utility: Results from Nonempirical Research Reports

One of the major purposes for reviewing the literature in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention was "to make a significant body of policy related research . . . more usable by policy makers," and "to indicate areas lacking in significant policy related research" (2, p. 1). In addition, this report was to provide a more rigorous basis for future research projects which dealt with policy related research in the area of juvenile delinquency.

There are, obviously, different levels of policy and each of these levels have somewhat different standards for judging the utility of a particular research project or set of information dealing with juvenile delinquency prevention. At the highest level of policy, broad areas of concern are indicated and priorities for programs are set, in part by the type and amount of funding which is available. Generally, this involves federal and state agencies. Officials at this level are primarily concerned with broad social issues. They are interested in exploring possible solutions to social problems and/or possible problem solving strategies. At a lower level, policy makers are concerned with program planning as opposed to project implementation and, to some extent, program funding. Here the emphasis seems to be on practical programs. At the most immediate project level, decision makers are concerned with staffing, needed resources, community acceptance, and presentation of the project. This level typically involves the person who is working on a single project or a set of interrelated projects.

Criteria for Judging Policy Utility

Decision makers who were interviewed indicated that the primary criteria that they would use to judge whether or not a program was useful were: effectiveness of the program, program feasibility, program efficiency and practicality, and its suitability to their own particular situation. Specifically, their concern centered around funding, funding sources, resources needed to implement a project, the project's cost effectiveness, and its success relative to institutional programs. Policy makers wanted to know such things as: Which particular agency

was responsible for the actual operation of the program? Was this program a first time or initially funded project? Did the project continue beyond its initial funding? If it was continued, what was its funding source? Policy makers also wanted to know if any statement or indication was made that the services the project offered were or were not available before the program began. They were particularly interested in the public's response to the project and social agencies' opinions about the project's efficiency or effectiveness.

Policy makers repeatedly emphasized that their major concern was not the theoretical basis of juvenile delinquency prevention, but the practical problems of instituting and carrying out a program that would be effective for juvenile delinquency prevention. Their concerns were centered around the problems associated with successfully operating a juvenile delinquency prevention project.

Policy Utility Results

Our review of the juvenile delinquency prevention literature indicates a pervasive lack of policy utility information. Very few studies report the kind of information which decision makers indicated was important for them. Table 11 summarizes the information regarding policy utility that was contained in the literature reviewed by this project. From this table, it is obvious that very few projects report information about cost effectiveness, whether or not services were available before the project began, staffing requirements, public response to the program, or information concerning relative success in comparison with institutional programs.

Policy Recommendations in the Literature

Part of the review included a listing and classification of recommendations which dealt with policy matters. A classification system containing thirteen categories was used. This system was rather informal and was designed to cover the broad range of policy recommendations which were found in the literature. Figure 1 reports twelve of these categories; the thirteenth being an "other" category. A total of 152 reports were reviewed using this process, however, only 120 of these contained any policy recommendations.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the most frequent type of recom-

mentations had to do with institutional change. These reports generally call for new programs in institutions or a change in institutional purposes, procedures, or policies. Occasionally, a report recommended the abolishment of an institution or the creation of a new institution. In one instance, a recommenda-

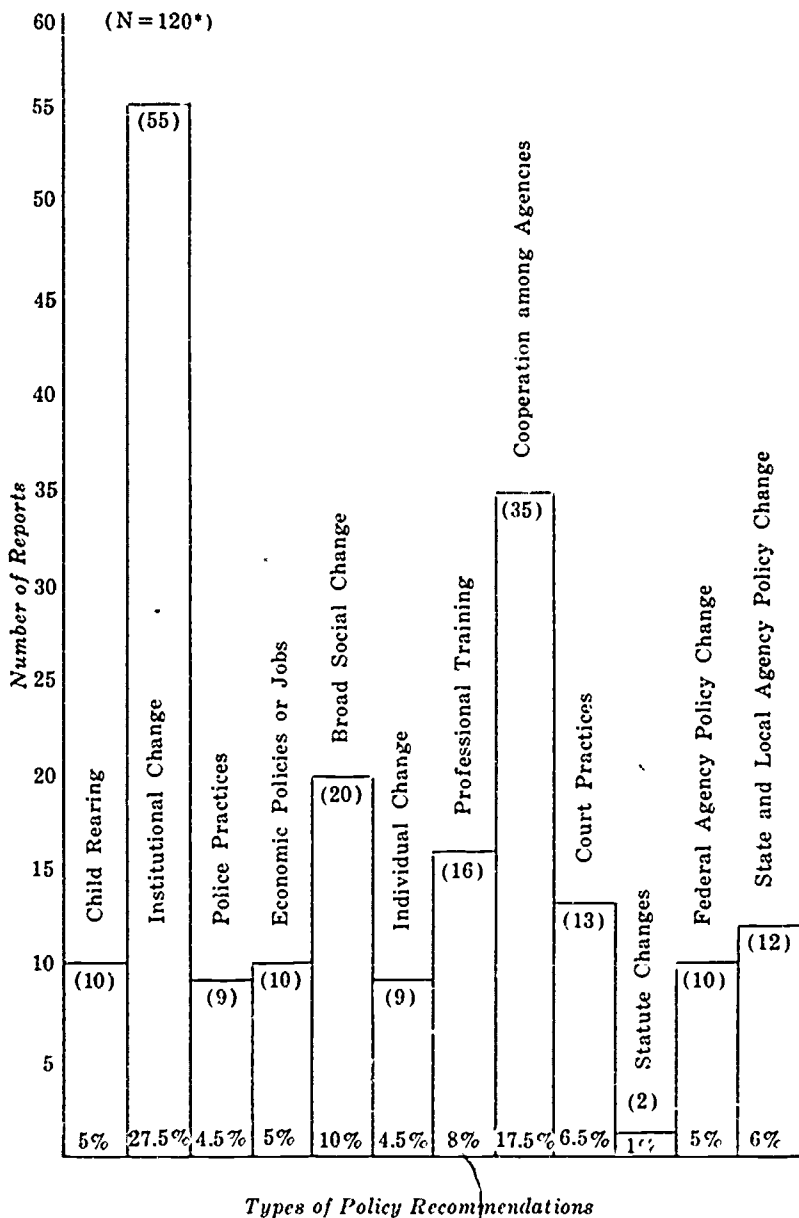
TABLE 11
INCIDENCE OF POLICY UTILITY INFORMATION IN
REPORTS OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Policy Utility Question	Information Reported				Total*
	Yes		No		
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
1. Funding source.	21	26%	59	74%	80
2. Agency responsible for operation of project.	48	60%	32	40%	80
3. Length of time program in operation.	30	38%	50	62%	80
4. First time (initial) funded project.					
5. If "yes", continued after initial funding.	15	53%	13	46%	28
6. If continued, was funding source reported.	7	58%	5	42%	12
7. Report of resources needed.	40	50%	40	50%	80
8. Cost figures.	8	10%	72	90%	80
9. Statement of service offered by project available before this project began.	25	31%	55	69%	80
10. Staffing requirement.	33	42%	47	58%	80
11. Public response to program.	26	32%	54	68%	80
12. Comparison with institutional program.	6	8%	74	92%	80
13. Report of comparison: more, less effect, or no difference.	12	15%	68	85%	80

* An additional 72 reports contained no policy information of any sort whatsoever, and the policy questions could not even be asked.

"Yes" here indicates the number of responses which gave information and includes both "yes" and "no" responses to the item, while "no" indicates that the report contained no information with regard to that item.

7 were more effective, 1 was less effective, and for 4 there was no difference or no judgment could be made.



* Total number of reports was 120. Some reports contained several policy recommendations. Therefore, the total number of recommendations is greater than 120.

Figure 1. Number and Percent of Reports Listing Policy Recommendations, by Category.

tion was made that juvenile corrections institutions group offenders by delinquent subtypes (based on the Interpersonal Maturity Level theory) into separate living units as a means of decreasing behavior problems (5). In another case, a recommendation was made that schools cease issuing diplomas or grades; and, instead, base graduation on attainment of certain competencies (3). The next most frequent category of policy recommendations was labeled cooperation among agencies. These reports typically recommended more contact between agencies and less duplication of effort. The next two most frequent categories involved broad social change and professional training. The first of these deals with changing values, priorities, or relationships in the social order. For example, Martin (1) notes that the problem of delinquency is basically a problem of social reorganization and "other approaches have merit only to the degree that they contribute to such reorganization" (p. 20). This means modifying the operating milieu of delinquents. The second category has to do with recommendations which call for more extensive training of those who deliver various services in the juvenile justice and delinquency prevention systems. These data reflect the general state of the literature with regard to policy utility and policy issues. Little in this literature can be applied to policy, policy making, or policy related issues.

A great need exists for program evaluation which deals with the area of policy utility. One reason so little information is available to policy makers is that funding agencies place a low priority on evaluation. The *Report for 1972* (4) of the U. S. Interdepartmental Council to Coordinate all Federal Juvenile Delinquency Programs indicated that, during fiscal year 1971, less than 10% of the more than 100,000 federal grants for youth development and delinquency projects contained any evaluation. Of those grants that included budget items for evaluation, over two-thirds appropriated less than one percent of their budgets for this purpose. Our own review indicates that state allocations for evaluation of juvenile delinquency prevention programs show a similar low level of funding. In effect, we are not getting what we fail to pay for.

More than money will be needed, however, to provide the kind of information now lacking. A major area of concern for evaluation must be the designing of procedures which will speak to the questions of cost effectiveness, resource allocation, and other policy related issues. It is obvious that there are dif-

ferent information needs for funders, government officials, and research investigators. Program evaluation must speak to these separate needs. One of the simplest ways of generating more information in this area would be the application of a set of minimal reporting standards for all delinquency prevention projects. Such reporting standards would require that the project file a complete description of its programs, method, staff, funding, and other resources utilized in the project. Reporting standards of this kind are proposed elsewhere in this report.

Nonempirical Research Report Findings

In our review of the literature, we classified all reports reviewed into four mutually exclusive categories. The first category was labeled empirical studies and included those reports which contained a relatively extensive data base, including a report of the effectiveness of the project. All other reports were not empirically based reports or, in other words, did not contain project outcome measures. Nevertheless, the latter reports often did contain information about policy utility, the causes of delinquency, and various treatment methods. Information from these reports can be used, in part, to assess the nature of juvenile delinquency prevention efforts as reported in the literature. Two tables are presented to summarize some of this information. Table 12 indicates how delinquency is operationally defined, by whom, and at what point in the "criminal career" programs attempt to intervene. Table 13 indicates the percentage of reports which dealt with treatment as opposed to prevention, and gives an indication of the most common types of treatments used.

As can be seen by inspection of Table 12, the most frequently used definitions of delinquency, as found in reports of prevention programs, are adult and status crime. The next most frequent definition arises from school or community problems. Operationally, when reports speak of the prevention of delinquency, they most often refer to one of these three categories. As one might expect from this finding, most prevention programs have as participants those who come to the attention of the legal system, the school, or the community welfare system. A relatively small percentage of delinquents come into prevention programs either as a result of familial or personal difficulties or as a result of referral by family, friends, or self.

The largest category of delinquency prevention programs

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF NON-EMPIRICAL REPORTS WHICH INDICATED
DEFINITION OF DELINQUENCY AND POINT OF INTERVENTION

<i>Types of Definition and Intervention</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<i>Operational definition of delinquency</i>	
Adult crime	29
Juvenile status crime	30
School or community problem	19
Family or personal problem (mental, physical health, etc.)	14
Status attribute (gang membership or area of town)	6
Other	3
<i>Who defined who was eligible for the program?</i>	
Legal system (court or police)	33
School	20
Community welfare system	15
Primary socialization agents	13
Self-selected	9
Status attribute	6
Other	4
<i>Point of intervention in "criminal career"</i>	
Pre-adjudication	23
Unofficial handling by police or court or official record but not adjudicated by the court	10
Adjudicated by juvenile court (official court record)	34
Both pre-adjudication and unofficial handling	4
Both pre-adjudication and adjudicated	1
Both unofficial handling and adjudication	3
Pre-adjudication, unofficial handling, and adjudication	25

are those which deal with adjudicated youth. At best this is a secondary prevention effort. Almost all prevention programs deal with youth who have had some contact with official control agents (police or courts). A third of the programs reported have, however, attempted to deal with these youth before any official action is taken.

Raters attempted to find in each report some referent as to whether the project defined itself as a prevention program, as a treatment program, as both, or neither. In many cases, no such definitional referent could be found. However, in those cases where a referent was found, only 25% defined the project as preventive (see Table 13).

Raters also classified each project's treatment methods. Frequently a project used more than one type of treatment. As can be seen in Table 13, the most frequent categories were:

TABLE 43

PERCENTAGE OF NON-EMPIRICAL REPORTS WHICH DEALT WITH
PREVENTION OR TREATMENT AND CLASSIFICATION OF TREATMENT

<i>Prevention, Treatment, and Classification of Treatment</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<i>Definition of prevention or treatment (N=103)</i>	
Prevention	25.0
Treatment	23.5
Both	28.0
Neither (other)	23.5
	100.0
<i>Treatment Classification (N=154)</i>	
Individual counseling, therapy	13.0
Family and/or social casework	16.2
Educational remediation	11.0
Vocational training, job finding, employment	11.7
Special school projects (e.g. police in schools)	3.2
Recreational and athletic activities	6.5
Detached workers, street-corner work	2.6
Building centered programs (e.g. YMCA, Boys' Clubs)	1.9
Area projects, storefront centers, etc.	*
Probationary services and other activity of the court	2.6
Volunteers-in-court, Big Brothers, etc.	*
Legal services (e.g. legal aid)	*
Youth service bureau, coordination of agencies	1.3
Advocacy programs	*
Community treatment projects	5.8
Police programs (other than athletics or school programs)	3.2
Social system changes	*
Guided group interaction, group counseling	11.7
Other	7.2
	100.0

* =less than 1%.

family and social casework, counseling or therapy, vocational training or employment aid, guided group interaction, and educational remediation. Few delinquency prevention programs were found which used volunteers or legal services, or which attempted to deal with larger social issues. Most programs seemed to use what are regarded as traditional treatment methods.

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5 The Evaluation of Social Intervention Programs

As Weiss (7) noted, evaluative efforts and other research endeavors utilize the same social science methodology. In evaluation, however, the problems of carrying out research are exacerbated by the constraints of the real world and the complexity of the social action program setting. Measurement and sampling become major problems. Program objectives, treatment techniques, and populations are subject to change, making the use of experimental designs extremely difficult. A lack of satisfactory criteria for judging program outcomes, and a lack of existing measurement techniques which are appropriate to the task at hand, are additional problems. In examining evaluative research, one is impressed by the generally poor quality of designs that are used. In many cases, there may be no design at all (6, 3).

Data collection represents another area of difficulty. In part, problems in this area are due to the lack of appropriate instruments and designs. Where appropriate instruments are available, however, many problems may still remain. Subjects may be uncooperative or even hostile or, perhaps, unavailable. In other cases, the information sought may not involve subjects directly but rather may require the cooperation of service delivery staff who have little time or inclination to provide the needed data. Data from records may often be inaccurate, in the wrong form, or virtually inaccessible.

Successful evaluation, with appropriate design and something approaching adequate measurement, often results in a conclusion of "no significant difference," or a difference between the treatment and control groups that is so slight that it does not represent a "meaningful" difference to policy makers. Such a result can be extremely disappointing to program administrators and frustrating to program staff who may have a strong belief in their program's efficacy. Naturally, a common reaction is to define evaluation as a waste of time, effort, and money. However, a number of explanations for such an outcome are possible, such as inadequate measurement sensitivity or outside influences which eliminate differences between the treatment and control groups as well as ineffective treatment.

Conceptually, evaluation differs from other research in that its fundamental purpose is to provide useful information for decision making rather than knowledge in general (6, 7). Other important conceptual differences involve the source of the question to be researched, the setting in which it takes place, and the element of judgment against criteria which is basic to evaluation. Typically, questions for evaluation come from the program staff or the decision makers and not from the evaluator, and evaluation activities take place in action settings, not in laboratory or research settings (7). Evaluation involves a state of tension between the world of research control and the world of practical and political reality. Good evaluation depends on clear goals and objectives which are specified by the decision makers. When objectives are unclear or unspecified, evaluation is difficult or impossible. Finally, there may be conflicting purposes to which evaluation is addressed. These may range from satisfying a funding requirement to producing a "white wash" to insure continued program operation.

Service delivery personnel tend to view the time and money spent on evaluation as wasteful, particularly in light of the heavy demand for services in many social problem areas. Evaluation activities are viewed with suspicion. Consequently, relationships between evaluators and service deliverers are often strained. In part, this is due to the role conflicts which exist between evaluation and the provision of services. Evaluators are to question, judge, and, in general, be critical. Practitioners are to help solve problems. Evaluation intrudes upon this task and imposes extra burdens on staff who are often already overloaded.

Our own problems with evaluating the literature in juvenile delinquency prevention reflect some of these issues, despite the fact that we were not dealing with actual live, ongoing programs. Methodologically, we were faced with the problem of defining what the purpose of evaluation was and how we could accomplish that purpose. The problem was one of operationalizing the judgment of an individual project's validity while at the same time being able to make a broad judgment of the literature as a whole. These somewhat conflicting needs led to a struggle between broadly descriptive measures and more specific codifiable measures; the result was a relatively lengthy and complex multiple classification system.

In our attempts to use this scheme, we soon discovered that

much of the data which we hoped to use as a basis for judging the adequacy of the literature was not available or was available in a form that was inaccessible—that is, it did not exist as a published report. As noted earlier, many prevention program reports are never published. Others are found only in obscure governmental archives. Computerized bibliographies are relatively new and, therefore, incomplete. These were helpful, but insufficient for our purposes. In addition, many reports were so incomplete or poorly written as to make judgments using the rating manual very difficult. By way of example, one item of information sought was the sex of the subjects or clients of a program. In one report, this information was found only after careful re-reading of the report and noting a single instance of the use of the pronoun *he* denoting that males had been the recipients of that particular project's services.

Other problems centered around the lack of conceptual clarity of the field itself. What is meant by prevention, treatment, or delinquency? How does one distinguish between treatment and prevention? What constitutes a proper or reasonable measure of delinquency? When is a measure an outcome measure and when should it be labeled as a follow-up measure? These and other questions posed difficulties for the raters as they struggled to classify the data from prevention program reports.

Evaluation and Reporting Recommendations

That a profound need exists for more and better evaluation of juvenile delinquency prevention efforts cannot be doubted. However, if knowledge of what constitutes the most effective prevention programs is to be obtained, careful attention must be paid to the type of evaluation which takes place. Likewise, attention must be given to the dissemination and utilization of evaluative information. While the following recommendations are echoes of earlier statements by authorities in program evaluation, perhaps the context in which they are presented, flowing from the reality of actual programs as found in the literature, will make them have greater relevance and impact.

The first and most basic recommendation is that more evaluation activities take place. We must increase the quantity and quality of evaluation. Many others have made the same observation, although not with regard to juvenile delinquency prevention activities specifically (7, 4, 2). To this end, we strongly recommend the adoption by federal, state, and private funding

agencies of a requirement for a minimum level of program evaluation to accompany each project funded. More resources should be allocated to evaluations which compare the effectiveness of various types of alternatives within programs such as types of treatment, conditions of treatment, attributes of the agency, characteristics of participants, operation of the agency) and attempt to explain which elements account for or are correlated with greater or lesser change. This approach would produce data across a wide range of programs and would allow for comparison of different program types.

More evaluation efforts designed to assess the relative efficiency of various programs and program types is also desperately needed. In addition, there is a strong need to develop measures of change which utilize units that can be related to economic, manpower, or time expenditure units. This would allow those programs which appear to be equally effective (or equally ineffective) but which have different costs to be selected simply on the basis of economy. However, caution should be exercised here. Programs which may appear to cost most, to be the longest, and to require the greatest expenditure of manpower may be the most efficient in terms of amount of change per unit.

The second recommendation is very similar - we urge that each funded project be required to submit a final report containing at least a minimum amount of information. The final project report should be as outlined below. Those items considered essential for minimum reporting are indicated by an asterisk (*).

Project Identification

- *A. Author
- *B. Title of report, book, etc.
- *C. Full project title
- *D. Project loca' (city, county, etc.)
- *E. Administrative agency (those responsible for actual operation of program)
- *F. Funding agency(s) (amount optional)
- *G. Address from which project reports, information, etc. are available

Project Goals or Purpose

- A. Defined as prevention or treatment
- B. What the program is explicitly trying to treat or prevent
- C. Point in criminal career at which the program is aimed

D. How eligibility for program was defined

*E. List of specific program objectives

Project Description

A. Subjects (those treated or program participants)

- *1. Total number receiving any treatment, refused treatment, dropped out, ineligible, or otherwise not included in the final count of those completing the program or treatment. (Report should clearly indicate how many participants were in the program, giving the number who started, finished, and dropped out at various times in the course of the program.)
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Race
5. Referral source (self referred, court referred, etc.)
6. Description of population from which participants came
7. Family socioeconomic status or income

B. Setting

- *1. Description of project setting
2. Applicable to metropolitan, urban, rural populations

C. Treatment (a complete description of treatment conditions, including those below)

- *1. What treatment is given to how many people, how often?
- *2. Some measure(s) of treatment intensity
3. Indication of level of treatment available from other sources before project began
- *4. Some measure(s) of treatment effectiveness (preferably as compared with an alternative treatment group and/or a nontreated group)
- *5. Any follow-up measure(s); that is, measures taken some time after treatment was completed
- *6. Information about measures used, reliability, validity, and whether they were project developed or produced commercially.

D. Resources utilized by the project

- *1. Number and type of staff
2. Report of staff effectiveness
- *3. Necessary facilities (buildings, recreational space, etc.)
- *4. Necessary equipment (cars, boats, woodworking equipment, etc.)
5. Adjunct or auxiliary personnel or facilities
6. Use of volunteers

Project Outcome

A. Measurement of project effectiveness

- *1. Complete description of measures used and data collected
2. Description of methods used to analyze project outcome data
3. Comparison with institution or other programs

B. Measure of project's impact

1. Increase in services offered to the population or area as a result of project
- *2. Public response to the program
- *3. Other agency(s) program(s) or project(s) response to the program
4. Interagency connections or cooperation as a result of program

C. Continuation of project beyond initial funding period

1. Under what auspices did the program continue (same funding agency, incorporated into another program, etc.)?
- *2. How long was the program in operation at the time of this report?

D. Project evaluation

- *1. Was the project evaluated?
- *2. Were evaluators from an outside agency, within the same agency but separate staff, part of the project staff, or regular treatment staff who spent part of time on evaluation?

E. Measurement of project cost and effectiveness

- *1. Total treatment cost per person treated per unit of time
- *2. Turnover in project staff for duration of the project
3. Comparison of project cost/effectiveness with another treatment form

The final report would be required to meet this set of standards or criteria as a condition for funding.

A third recommendation is that all project reports which meet minimal reporting standards be published or filed in an accessible data bank regardless of outcome. Much can be learned from a project that fails to show positive results or which shows results opposite those hypothesized or expected. Only by systematically exploring many possible alternative methods of combating delinquency, and learning from our failures as well as our successes, can we hope to be successful in understanding or in coping with this problem. We must be willing to document our mistakes as well as our triumphs.

A fourth recommendation is that periodically a systematic evaluation of the literature should be undertaken. In this way there would be a continual updating of the accumulating findings in the field. These periodic surveys could be focused particularly on searching out the empirical research which bears on delinquency prevention.

Several articles which we reviewed noted the need for more research of both a basic and applied nature in the field of delinquency prevention (8). In addition, the need for long-term research which would give results on and allow for large scale systematic planning efforts has been noted (8, 1).

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6 Programmatic Recommendations

Recommendations in eight programmatic areas of delinquency prevention are presented in this section. These eight areas concern diversion, differential treatment, community treatment, decriminalization, use of volunteers, programs for girls, school projects, and centralized state services. Each of these is discussed separately in the following text.

More Widespread Use of Diversion

Recommendation:

The general trend to divert youth from the criminal justice system should be continued. The current efforts to handle the problems of youth (particularly first offenders and minor offenses) without resorting to the law and the use of advocates for youth to insure that they receive services from the community should be expanded wherever possible. Current efforts to establish youth service bureaus appear to represent one method of achieving these goals.

In 1972 the U. S. Interdepartmental Council to Coordinate all Federal Juvenile Delinquency Programs, in its proposed national policy objective in the juvenile delinquency area, recommended that diversionary programs be established to handle all juvenile status offenders and minor criminal offenders via a network of service institutions which would involve youth, families, and communities (47). The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration indicated that in 1972 over fifteen million dollars was spent on 64 projects designed to divert youth from the juvenile justice system (26). Some of the reasons for this diversionary movement are indicated below.

Some evidence indicates that youth who come into official contact with control agents commit more delinquent acts than youth who do not (58, 56, 18, 15, 17, 27). This evidence argues for keeping youth out of the juvenile justice system. Others have argued that this system is designed for those who work in it and not for those who should be served by it. Some have even said that there is little or no justice for youth in the juvenile justice system. Youth in this system are powerless to influ-

ence the operation of the court, how they may be affected by it, or the outcome of their fate as clients (19, 45, 30, 35, 48, 59, 54). There is some evidence that courts use their power to punish and control, sometimes illegally, and not to provide service to children or their families (25).

Both of these arguments can be taken as a rationale for diverting youth, especially those youth who commit less serious offenses (e.g., truancy, alcohol violations), from official control agents. In essence, diversion means the handling of problems of youth in some informal or unofficial manner. Youth are not labeled in this process and disposition is on an individual basis. The effects of labeling are becoming better known, and various authorities are increasingly calling for a reduction in labeling and the stigma attached to this process. Diversion would appear to reduce the problems of labeling, particularly for first time offenders (22).

Frequently youth who come in contact with official control agents have a manifest need which brings them to the attention of officials. They may be neglected by parents, failures in school, lack job skills, lack basic educational knowledge, have medical or mental health problems or otherwise be impaired. Many courts are unable to provide these services. Although a law violation may be involved, the basic need is for some sort of service which is typically available through the community welfare system and not the juvenile justice system. Diversion seems to offer at least a partial answer to this problem.

Tentative evidence exists that diverting youth from the criminal justice system and into some alternative form of treatment may be more cost effective than the process of court proceedings and incarceration, although there is some disagreement that diversion is indeed less expensive than institutionalization (4, 37, 61). Certainly, diversion appears to offer more humane treatment than institutionalization, particularly if the argument is made that diversion should be applied to first offenders and those who have committed juvenile status crimes and other minor offenses as opposed to the more serious offenses. If, indeed, as a society we are more interested in education, rehabilitation, and providing opportunity for people to lead useful lives than we are in punishment, revenge, and control of people's lives, diversion seems worth serious consideration (46, 38).

Arguments have been put forward that local control of local problems is an important concept of the American political sys-

tem. Others have argued that many of our institutions and social political systems are inadequate and out of touch with the problems of today's community. If these two lines of thought are brought together, a case can be made that local communities should indeed accept responsibility for their own problems and that a failure to do so will perpetuate local social service systems' failure to solve local community problems. Through diversion, pressure can be brought to bear on those institutions, agencies, and systems which can result in badly needed reforms. Courts may no longer be used as the dumping ground for difficult, hard-to-handle cases. Youth may be helped to develop a commitment to conformity, and institutions may develop a commitment to maintaining their ties to youth, reducing instead of increasing the alienation from the adult world which youth feel (37, 2, 25, 34).

Youth Service Bureaus and Other Forms of Diversion

Diversion may be accomplished in a variety of ways. Among those ways currently being touted, youth service bureaus (YSB) are the most visible and appear to be the most viable. The widespread development of YSB's may indeed herald a new day for delinquency prevention, if the gap between innovation and implementation which always exists, especially in the social service field, can somehow be reduced in this instance. The model of the youth service bureau calls for a coordinating agency which would see to it that each youth is served by the most appropriate combination of services of which he is in need. This process is somewhat akin to a "best fit model" where the services are tailored to the individual needs of the client. Where an essential service is lacking, the YSB would see that it gets created or otherwise made available. This calls for the YSB to fulfill an advocacy role and to be able to hold service agencies accountable for fulfilling their contracts to the YSB's constituency. The YSB does not provide services directly and, in that sense, has no clients, but does have a constituency for whom it performs services.

Our recommendation is not that youth service bureaus should become the wave of the future, but rather that diversion should be more broadly implemented. It should then be carefully examined for its effects, regardless of whether these are achieved through YSB's, advocacy programs, coordinating councils, or Dennis' (11) county agents for children (modeled after

the agriculture county extension agent program). The number of youth being processed through our courts, and particularly the number of youth who are institutionalized, should be reduced significantly. Concomitantly, the quality of service available to youth and their families and the number of families receiving such services should be increased.

Greater Use of Differential Treatment

Recommendation:

The most rational approach to juvenile delinquency prevention or reduction is to have specific programs geared to the needs of particular populations. Joy riders and/or car thieves do not need the same kind of treatment as members of aggressive gangs or chronic shoplifters.

Wheeler, Cottrell, and Romasco (55) suggest that the classification of types of delinquency and the most appropriate prevention techniques for each would be extremely helpful. Delinquency takes a variety of behavioral forms and it is extremely important to attend to different patterns within a particular problem area of delinquency. Wheeler *et al.* conclude that "A real advance in our knowledge of patterns of delinquency may be expected only when we become more sophisticated in our efforts to develop classifications and typologies based on personal and social background characteristics, or on modes of personality functioning" (55, p. 434).

Warren (51) believes that the same treatment program which is beneficial to some types of offenders may be detrimental to other types. She suggests that a fundamental research question which we should be asking is: What kinds of treatment programs, conducted by what kinds of workers, in what kinds of settings, are best for what kinds of juvenile offenders? Differential treatment has been applied in the field of delinquency prevention in many forms, such as work programs, group homes, counseling, and remedial education. However, we still lack knowledge about which program is best for what kind of delinquent (36). One problem which requires differential treatment concerns what services should be directed at the prevention of delinquency and what works best in the rehabilitation of youth already involved with law enforcement or correctional agencies (38).

The case for differential treatment was given support by two studies conducted in California during the 1950's (20, 1). Both

studies showed that by lumping together several different kinds of offenders, the beneficial effects of the treatment program on some individuals was masked by the detrimental effects of the same treatment program on other individuals. These two effects cancelled each other out (31).

A program which is helpful for a hyperactive juvenile delinquent may not be for a retarded child. A work program which is constructive for a delinquent from a lower social class background may not be for a delinquent from a middle-class background. Some youth lack social skills and may have a limited behavioral repertoire. Others lack vocational skills or have basic educational defects. Each delinquent, if he is to be a successful member of society, must somehow have his particular set of needs met. A program which does this is obviously going to be much more effective than one which gives the same type of treatment to everyone. With effective differential treatment, recidivism rates should be lower and rates of institutionalization should drop.

We strongly urge that delinquency treatment and prevention programs experiment with differential treatment, including careful evaluation, such that we can begin to establish some degree of confidence that a particular treatment form is more effective with a particular category of delinquent youth than alternative treatment forms. Only by many people trying a variety of prevention and treatment activities, which are carefully evaluated, can we hope to have effective prevention or treatment programs.

Greater Use of Community Treatment

Recommendation:

The use of alternative forms of treatment other than institutionalization or parole is strongly encouraged. Many types of treatment such as group homes, work-study programs, and foster homes have come into use in recent years. Further exploration of the effectiveness of these and other types of treatments is encouraged. Greater use should be made of as wide a range of types of programs as seems feasible.

A number of reasons make community treatment projects an attractive alternative to institutionalization. One has to do with cost. Community treatment projects would appear to be more economical than state institutions on a cost per person

basis (23, 57). The Governor of Massachusetts has said, "Under the old system, we found ourselves supporting an entire system at a level that only a small minority of the population needed. We spent approximately \$10,000 a year to keep a child in an institution. If we invest in a community treatment program, we can provide individual service, personal counseling, job training, . . . for about half the cost" (42, p. 4). In Kentucky, it has been determined that " . . . community-based correctional programs can purchase more social benefits at a lower cost to the state than institutional programs" (24). In terms of recidivism rates, community-based treatment does not appear to be inferior to institutionalization (51) and in some cases community-based projects have been proved to be more effective than institutionalization (23, 41, 60).

One of the most important elements of community-based projects is the possibility of differential treatment. All delinquents are not the same; that is to say, a variety of factors function as mediating variables which produce different categories of delinquents. Among these are sex, income level of the family, urban-rural origin, and ethnicity. Therefore, different treatment methods should be utilized for different types of delinquents. Thus, those preventive strategies which allow for differential treatment are, naturally, more fruitful than those which do not allow for differential treatment. Among different methods which have been utilized, individual counseling, volunteer sponsors, psychiatric and psychological services, and vocational rehabilitation are frequently mentioned (5, 41, 44). Many of these programs have employed community volunteers as key persons in the treatment of youth who are in conflict with the law, the school, or themselves. Through the use of such volunteers the community as a whole also tends to become more involved (28).

Some authorities have noted that youth need to develop commitment to conformity. Community-based projects can be utilized to produce this desired conformity because they promote a sense of competence, a sense of usefulness, a sense of belonging, and a sense of power (38, 29, 52, 13; 25). Community treatment programs tend to foster in communities a sense of responsibility for their own (local) youth's problems. Youth are not shipped off to an institution but remain nearby. Communities thus are forced to deal with the needs of these youth and are encouraged to develop means of preventing delinquency. Youth

and to some extent their families are likewise brought into greater contact with the reality of their problems. The treatment and problem context remain essentially the same, and a problem solving process which has a high probability of resulting in a workable solution is often the result. Merton (31) indicates that if in a given society the culturally defined goals cannot be achieved by socially determined means by some groups of people, those people experience anomie and the result is deviant behavior. Community-based projects offer the possibility for the development of skills and abilities among delinquents necessary for achieving the goals sanctioned by our culture. Thus, community-based projects can change deviant behavior to more socially acceptable behavior.

Decriminalization of "Child Only" Crime Statutes

Recommendation:

Offenses applicable only to children should be removed from the criminal statutes. Laws which now designate such things as truancy, waywardness, curfew violations, and other "child only" violations as crimes which subject the violators to arrest and prosecution should be done away with so that such activities are no longer identified and labeled as criminal.

A number of juveniles who are referred to the court under the present system are actually considered as noncriminal. Only six percent of juveniles taken into police custody in the United States are eventually institutionalized. Between 40% and 50% of children in custody or pending dispositional hearing have committed no offense for which an adult could be held criminally liable (39). Yet, these youths are subject to a stigmatizing and alienating experience as if they were guilty of dangerous criminal acts. If the main goal of correctional institutions is to reduce delinquent behaviors, the "nondelinquent and problem child" must be successfully diverted from traditional criminal treatment.

There is no question that youth need to be subject to authority, particularly if their behavior is to be kept within the bounds of our social norms. However, the family, school, and community should become the authority and exercise control over the juvenile—not the criminal justice system. Once a behavior is labeled as a crime, this label feeds back upon the offender and, in time, he will view himself as a criminal. Others

will also regard him as a criminal or a delinquent and will expect him to behave in a delinquent manner. Therefore, decriminalization in this situation is an effort toward changing the status of the offenders from criminals to youth with problems.

Evidence indicates that those who come in contact with official control agents are much more likely to be re-arrested than those who do not—other things being equal (16, 58). *Status* offenses should be removed from the class of criminal offenses and diversionary programs should be set up to handle these *status* offenders (14).

One of the major problems in our juvenile justice system is the tremendous caseload pressing upon courts in our larger cities. Decriminalization of status offenses could significantly reduce this caseload. Troubled youth are often in need of many services not traditionally a part of the justice system, such as medical treatment, psychological services, vocational counseling, and job training. These services are a part of the larger community welfare system and decriminalization could force this system to assume more of its rightful share of working out solutions to these problems of life, instead of labeling them as delinquent acts and dumping them onto the court.

Laws which label truancy or "uncontrollable behavior" as delinquency do nothing to prevent or reduce delinquency. They merely add to the probability that an even larger segment of our society will become alienated from society, and become true criminals who prey on society for their livelihood (48).

The creation of these laws has also contributed to the weakening of the family and the fabric of society. Parents have become educated to the fact that a problem child can be labeled as incorrigible and dumped on the court. Parents can then rely on the court for the discipline and education which they cannot or will not undertake with their children in their own homes. Other social agencies have also been educated to the fact that the juvenile court may be used for their more difficult cases. Local authorities have increasingly relied upon the law to remove troublesome youth from their communities. This overreliance on the law weakens the ability of the local system of socialization, made up of parents, schools, and other institutions, to find solutions to its own problems. There is less need for parents, schools, and churches to help solve these problems if youth can be shipped out of the community. Removal of youth from the

community lessens the pressure on this system to work on these problems of socialization.

Expanded Use of Volunteers

Recommendation:

More use should be made of volunteers in juvenile delinquency prevention and treatment programs. Particularly effective use can be made of volunteers in counseling, education, and vocational training programs.

Methods of treatment for the juvenile offender are in a state of dynamic change today. One of the most significant developments is the use of the community volunteers as key people in the treatment plan for a youth in conflict with the law, the school, his parents, or himself (28). The need for volunteers and their utility has been demonstrated. The demand for trained volunteers far exceeds available personnel. Volunteer programs stress participation and partnership between private and public efforts of delinquency prevention.

In terms of cost/benefit analysis, volunteer programs require less money than the other programs (33, 12, 28) and, therefore, it is assumed that the development of volunteer programs will result in long-term savings to the criminal justice system (4). In a study by Elden and Adams (12), 8 out of 30 children supervised by volunteers were referred for criminal law violations. For the same period during 1969, referrals for criminal law violations were made for 30 out of 47 children supervised by the professional staff. These findings demonstrate the effectiveness of volunteers. Other evidence indicates that probationers counseled by volunteers appeared to have qualitatively better relationships with their counselors than did probationers counseled by probation officers (23). Some other studies where volunteers were used have shown some degree of success in reducing recidivism (14), a greater decline in the hostility, negativism, and antisocial trends of delinquents (33), and a reduction in the level of juvenile delinquency (9). Volunteers have also been effective in helping elementary age children who have social, emotional, and academic problems (4).

The individual attention which a volunteer can give, in contrast with the attention an overburdened caseworker may provide, has been suggested as one of the principal advantages in

the use of volunteers. The suggestion has also been made that youth are impressed and motivated to change by the unselfish concern which they experience from a volunteer (28). For these reasons as well as for the others suggested above, the use of volunteers (particularly well-trained and properly motivated volunteers) appears to be one of the viable programmatic alternatives available to those concerned with juvenile delinquency prevention.

Prevention-Treatment Programs Aimed at Females

Recommendation:

More programs aimed at meeting the specific needs of female delinquents should be developed and operationalized to meet what appears to be a growing and long neglected problem area.

Our review of the literature discovered only two programs which were specifically planned for girls. Also, very few programs had both male and female participants. Some movement appears to be underway to meet the needs of female delinquents, but it is feeble and scattered (43, 50, 52, 39).

Much of female delinquency revolves around sexual promiscuity. Few programs deal with this area. Some needs in this area would appear to be: provision of continuing education for pregnant girls who drop out of school; educational programs in maternal and child health and child rearing; and, Vocational training programs for girls, particularly for young mothers who must work.

Female delinquency appears to be increasing. Community treatment projects and youth service bureaus could be equally applicable for girls and boys. The evidence indicates, however, that these programs serve mostly boys. More experimentation by local authorities, who are aware of the problems faced by many teenaged girls, in the design of programs for treating and preventing the delinquency of females is needed.

In addition to more programmatic efforts, more effort is also needed in the area of research on female delinquency. What factors lead females to become delinquent? What are the primary psychological and situational factors for female delinquency. We encourage the funding of programs to seek answers to these questions.

Special School Programs

Recommendation:

Schools should actively engage in projects designed to reduce and prevent delinquency. Specifically, this means that schools must undertake, by whatever means necessary, the tasks of: promoting socialization of youth; maximizing each individual's capacity and opportunity to make a positive contribution to society; and, preventing school failure.

In part, this may be done by (a) supporting and fostering teachers' beliefs in the potential of all students to learn and to make a positive contribution to the world; (b) developing relevant curriculum, particularly for those students most often found at the fringe of society—the poor, the minorities, and the physically or psychologically handicapped; (c) encouraging diverse teaching methods appropriate to the particular population of each school; (d) allowing students to play an active role in the decisions which directly affect their lives in school; (e) promoting alternative career development via realistic job-oriented vocational education programs, as opposed to the choice of either a college prep or a noncollege prep alternative; and, (f) developing programs geared to reintegrating earlier dropouts and other school failures.

Failure in school appears to be a primary contributor to delinquency (10). Various authorities have suggested that when youth are unable to succeed in school, this blockage of an important goal leads them to seek success in other less socially acceptable ways (6, 7). Some evidence shows that the majority of parents in all ethnic groups value school attainment and stress success in school to their children (8). Students also value success in school and see the passing of courses as a valued goal (49). Therefore, failure to achieve success in school can represent an important stumbling block on the way to viewing oneself as a successful person capable of attaining goals.

Our society, generally, holds the belief that educational attainment is fundamental to a successful life. Therefore, if a person is not successful in school, he may feel he is incapable of success anywhere. The lack of occupational success and concomitant unemployment of school dropouts appears to be correlated with crime and delinquency (40). Schools can play an important role in helping youth achieve realistic vocational goals which can provide satisfaction and success.

In the United States, education is close to being universal. The phrase, "everyone has a first grade teacher," is accepted as a truism. This, in turn, means that the potential for influence via the school is likewise all but universal. The schools represent the single most viable system for socialization and influence outside of the home. A problem as diverse and as widespread as delinquency cannot be successfully dealt with except through an ubiquitous system such as the schools. If one then asks why schools should involve themselves with juvenile delinquency prevention, the answer in part is because they are there. Schools already exist as an established system of influence which pervades every part of American society.

Schools can also be the source of other equally important forms of help besides career planning and education. The school represents a major tie for youth to the adult world. School can be a place where youth learn how to make appropriate decisions by participating in the decision making process of the school. Schools can also be an important source of role models and proper socialization.

In industrial societies, occupation is the major source of identification for many people. But youth typically do not have an occupation as a source of identification. Thus, their identity must come from other sources. On the whole, these sources are limited to the activities that take place in the schools. But if a student is neither academically nor athletically inclined, these roles are not likely to have much meaning. Therefore, other identity categories tend to emerge—categories that often include referents to physical skill, size, height, weight, clothing styles, places, possessions, and special membership groups.

Boys who are seeking to form identities are engaged in a very important self-development task. Delinquency for them is a part of the way in which they are forming an identity. Delinquency is not a way of simply gaining some material possessions, such as a car, a stereo, or money, but serves for function of communicating to themselves and to others something about their identity—that is, their status, prestige, and place in society. In this sense, the question of why a particular delinquent act may be committed really has no rational or logical answer and may have no particular meaning to the person himself. What happened is more a function of the time, place, and circumstances of age and developmental stage than it is a function of a specific end or goal. Strong identification with school of-

fers some assurance that youthful behavior will more likely be socially acceptable.

Creation in Each State of a Central Children and Youth Agency

Recommendation:

Most states should create a children and youth service agency to correlate the activities of the state in this area and to establish a basis of accountability for service to all children and youth in the state.

In response to inquiries for information concerning state juvenile delinquency prevention programs, seven states indicated having no one in state government who was charged with the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Other states indicated that no one agency was responsible for services to youth and no agency specifically dealt with juvenile delinquency prevention. Still other states indicated that they were unable to provide information about the effectiveness of program efforts to prevent delinquency because, as one letter expressed it, "The types of information which you are seeking are not applicable to the activities of this agency, since this agency acts as the state planning agency . . . for LEAA funding. . . ."

The bulk of our inquiries to states concerning delinquency prevention programs resulted in our receiving a copy of that state's plan for the criminal justice system. Typically, these plans were proposals for how money was to be allocated among state agencies and local governments. Rarely was there a plan for delinquency prevention, and none of these plans gave any information, even of a descriptive nature, of an actual juvenile delinquency prevention program. For most states, our inquiry was inappropriate. Few states, it would appear, engage in any systematic juvenile delinquency prevention effort. Most state governments seem unaware of delinquency prevention programs within their borders. Conversations with regional LEAA officials confirmed that most states have no centralized agency from which we could obtain information about juvenile delinquency prevention efforts within a particular state. In most states, several different agencies may be charged with serving children and youth and yet no agency has responsibility for the prevention of delinquency.

One survey of the administrative organization of state ju-

venile services showed that 7 states had no central state agency of any description concerned with services to youth, 9 states had an autonomous agency, 6 states had a central department of corrections responsible for both juveniles and adults, 13 states had an identifiable juvenile service organization as part of a larger government unit with other services, and 15 states had no identifiable organization for juvenile services (21). Among those nine states with a central agency, no comparison could be made with regard to preventive services. Their programs and organizational structure were so diverse with regard to prevention that they could not be classified. Therefore, consideration of prevention was not possible in this attempt to classify juvenile service organizations in the several states.

It is clear from the above that almost all states lack a central coordinating body which has responsibility for services to children and youth. In most cases, no one agency can be held accountable for the delivery of services to this group. Those under legal voting age are a politically powerless group and need an advocate in order to insure that their rights will be protected.

A centralized agency having as its single purpose the surveillance and advocacy of children's rights, and the delivery of services to children and families which will implement these rights, is vital if progress is to be continued in the area of human development. The separate services of protection, prevention, diagnosis, and treatment can be usefully combined under one agency where better coordination of these services can result. Duplication, delay, and bureaucratic red tape can be significantly reduced. In addition, an independent agency with responsibility for all aspects of service can have the flexibility to meet the specific and special needs of youth. Such an arrangement might also be more cost effective than having several agencies responsible for separate parts of the services provided to children and youth. In other cases, services which are not now being provided or which are failing to reach those in need would more likely be available at the time they are needed and to the people for whom they are intended through a centralized state agency for children and youth. Many states appear to lack comprehensive services for children and families in need. This failure to provide services at an early, more preventive stage inevitably leads to more costly services being required at a later treatment stage. As is indicated above, a single agency

charged with the responsibility of seeing that preventive services are made available would seem to have a much better chance of reaching those in need and doing so more effectively than several diverse agencies.

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7 Summary and Conclusion

Juvenile delinquency prevention has clearly progressed during the past several years. In 1968, Berleman and Steinburn, in their review of the literature, found only five studies which made use of a control or a comparison group. Our survey of the literature found almost 50 such studies. More use is being made of experimental and quasi-experimental designs, consequently, more knowledge is being generated about what does and does not work. However, delinquency is a complex phenomenon and one study or even a series of studies will not reveal the answers to the questions of what will prevent delinquency, or what can be done to reduce delinquency once it has occurred. Science does not proceed in an orderly fashion answering each question in turn in some logical sequence; rather, it proceeds in fits and spurts, first moving in one direction, then in another, and as a new piece of information is revealed, new questions are raised and the overall complexity of the problem increases. So it is with the area of delinquency. We are beginning to recognize that delinquency prevention involves many factors, including the genuine concern of an adult for a youth. No method of delinquency/prevention or treatment is foolproof.

However, some methods of delinquency prevention or reduction are more effective than others. Educational and vocational projects, community treatment programs, the use of volunteers and nonprofessionals, and youth service bureaus all show some sign of effectiveness. Further evaluation and documentation of this effectiveness is needed, however. Recreation, individual and group counseling, social casework, and the use of detached workers (gang workers) either show no effectiveness or are effective under very limited conditions.

Several recommendations were made for prevention programs with respect to evaluation and information dissemination: (a) Project reports should follow a set of guidelines to insure that they contain the minimum amount of information necessary for the project's replication or evaluation; (b) All reports which meet these guidelines (which could be made a condition of funding) should be published regardless of the project's outcome, positive or negative. (c) A periodic, systematic

evaluation of the literature should be carried out; and, (d) Greater use of program evaluation should be encouraged.

We also strongly encourage those who plan and carry out delinquency prevention activities to be as explicit as possible about the assumptions they make, reasoning that an explicit theory is better than an implicit one.

Eight programmatic recommendations dealing with the control and prevention of delinquency were made. Each of these recommendations comes out of the current literature. These eight areas are: diversion, differential treatment, community treatment, decriminalization, the use of volunteers, treatment programs for females, special school programs, and the creation of a central children and youth service agency in each state.

As mentioned in this report, there are basically two approaches to delinquency prevention. One, a theoretical, data oriented approach; and, two, a trial and error approach. Our conclusion is that both approaches are necessary. Research is needed to answer a number of questions, such as: On what basis can we judge whether a person requires institutionalization or can be safely referred to a community treatment program? What types of delinquents could just as well be given a suspended sentence or otherwise handled without supervision? What factors enable an otherwise "high risk" youth to avoid delinquency? Can police be trained to interact with youth in such a way as to reduce the probability of future police contact by these same youth? What governs utilization rates for institutions? In addition, statistical data (at both national and local levels) on delinquency rates, the operation of the juvenile justice system, delinquency prevention activities, and the juvenile corrections system needs to be gathered and used for long-term planning and research design.

More and better evaluation of delinquency prevention projects is needed. Evaluation must be concerned not only with how effective a program is, but also with why it is effective, and how effective it is in comparison with some alternative prevention strategy.

Experimentation with differential treatment, as an attempt to match youth needs, types of delinquents, and methods of treatment, is strongly encouraged. There is no answer or set of answers to delinquency prevention. Exploration designed to see what works, even if it is not based on a scientifically derived hypothesis, is worthwhile if accompanied by careful documenta-

tion and evaluation. In particular, alternatives to incarceration need to be developed more fully. A trial and error approach is the only feasible way to discover these alternatives, given the present state of our knowledge.

We must be willing to engage in risk-taking by trying out new programs. A large amount of anecdotal evidence indicates that people do respond to responsibility when given an opportunity to play leadership roles, to make decisions for which they are accountable, and to take charge of their own lives. Young people have demonstrated that they are capable of learning how to make mature, responsible decisions.

It is encouraging to note that a new federal law, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (HR 15276 and S. 821, 93rd Congress), incorporates many of the recommendations being made in this report. This act calls for evaluation of all federally assisted delinquency programs, for a centralized research effort on problems of juvenile delinquency, and for training programs for persons who work with delinquents. This new law also directs that funds be spent on diverting juveniles from the juvenile justice system through the use of community-based programs, such as group homes, foster care, and home-maker services. In addition, community-based programs and services which work with parents and other family members to maintain and strengthen the family unit are recommended. The act contains many other provisions which, if implemented, will make a large impact on services and programs for delinquents and potential delinquents.

With progress of this nature, we are optimistic that much more can and will be done both to treat and to prevent delinquency.

APPENDIX

Search Sources

Computer searches purchased from computer-based literature banks:

National Council on Crime and Delinquency
Hackensack, New Jersey

National Criminal Justice Reference Service
U. S. Department of Justice
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
Washington, D. C.

National Institute of Mental Health
National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information
Rockville, Maryland

National Technical Information Service
U. S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia

Psychological Abstracts Search and Retrieval
American Psychological Association
Washington, D. C.

Smithsonian Science Information Exchange, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

Abstracts reviewed from sources available through Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee:

Crime and Delinquency Abstracts
National Clearinghouse of Mental Health
National Institute of Mental Health
Rockville, Maryland

Crime and Delinquency Literature
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
Hackensack, New Jersey

Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) Abstracts
National Institute of Education
Bethesda, Maryland

Resocialization Abstracts
National Institute of Mental Health
National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information
Rockville, Maryland

Research Relating to Children Abstracts
Office of Child Development, U. S. Children's Bureau
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Psychological Abstracts

Sociological Abstracts

Research reports were solicited from the following private, state, local, and federal agencies/institutes:

55 State/Territories Law Enforcement Planning Commissions
 82 Office of Youth Development, Office of Human Development, Department of HEW grantees
 American Association of Correctional Psychologists, Marysville, Ohio
 American Correctional Association, College Park, Maryland
 American Justice Institute, Sacramento
 Attention Home, Inc., Boulder, Colorado
 Big Sisters, Inc., New York City
 Boston's Children's Service Association, Boston
 Bureau of Child Research, University of Kansas at Lawrence
 California State College at Los Angeles, Chicano Studies in Preventing Delinquency
 California State Department of Youth Authority, Sacramento
 Center for Criminal Justice, Harvard University
 Center for Law Enforcement Research Information, International Association of Chiefs of Police
 Center for Research in Criminal Justice, University of Illinois at Chicago
 Center for Study of Crime and Correction, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
 Center for Youth Development and Research, University of Minnesota
 Children's Mission, Boston
 Child Welfare League of America, New York
 Child Development Center, New York
 Colorado Department of Employment, Denver
 Community Development Administration, Newark, New Jersey
 Criminology Program, University of Puerto Rico
 Dunlap and Associates, Inc., Darien, Connecticut
 Family Service Association of America, New York
 Foundation of Research in Education, Menlo Park, California
 Human Services Program, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga
 Institute for Behavioral Research, Silver Spring, Maryland
 Institute for Contemporary Corrections and the Behavioral Sciences, Sam Houston University, Huntsville, Texas
 Institute of Exceptional Children and Adults, University of South Florida at Tampa
 Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley
 Institute for Social Research, Fordham University
 Institute for Social Research and Development, Criminal Justice Program, New Mexico University at Albuquerque
 Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor

Lane Human Resources, Inc., Eugene, Oregon
 Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Washington, D. C.
 McGregor Fund of Michigan, Detroit
 National Board, YMCA, Los Angeles
 National Council on Crime and Delinquency Research Center, Davis, California
 National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, Reno, Nevada
 National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, Rockville, Maryland
 National Institute on Crime and Delinquency, San Francisco
 National Institute of Mental Health Division of Manpower and Training, Rockville, Maryland
 National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D. C.
 Our Lady of Mercy Welfare Center, Charleston, South Carolina
 Pre-Trial Intervention Project, Baltimore, Maryland
 Public Systems Research Institute, University of Southern California, at Los Angeles
 Regional Research Institute, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon
 Research Analysis Corporation, Office of Public Safety, McLean, Virginia
 School of Arts, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa
 School of Social Work, Columbia University
 Social Cybernetics Institute, Palo Alto, California
 Social and Rehabilitation Service, U. S. Children's Bureau
 Survey Research Center, University of California at Berkeley
 Systems Research Group, Ohio State University at Columbus
 Texas Research League, San Angelo, Texas
 United Community Centers, Inc., Brooklyn, New York
 United Planning Organization, Washington, D. C.
 University of Oklahoma Research Institute at Norman
 University of Southern California Medical Center at Los Angeles
 Urban Institute, Washington, D. C.
 U. S. Interdepartmental Council to Coordinate All Federal Juvenile Delinquency Programs, Washington, D. C.
 U. S. Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, Washington, D. C.
 Volunteers in Probation, Royal Oak, Michigan
 World Correctional Service Center, Chicago
 Youth Studies Center, University of Southern California at Los Angeles